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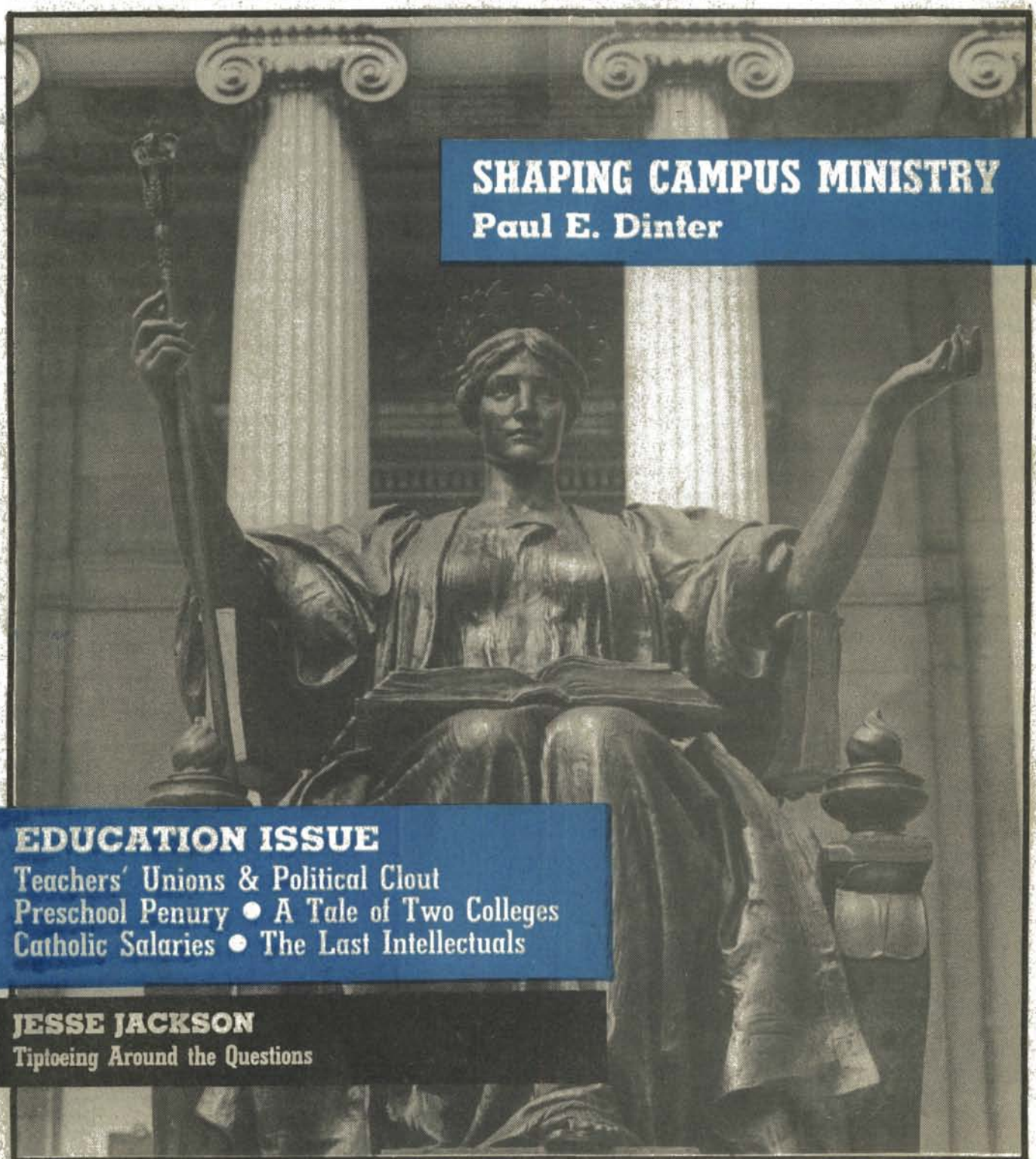

SHAPING CAMPUS MINISTRY
Paul E. Dinter

EDUCATION ISSUE
Teachers' Unions & Political Clout
Preschool Penury • A Tale of Two Colleges
Catholic Salaries • The Last Intellectuals

JESSE JACKSON
Tiptoeing Around the Questions

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CORRESPONDENCE

Top-down view

Homewood, Ill.

To the Editors: Bravo David R. Carlin, Jr., in "A Shortsighted Vision" [November 6, 1987]. After working in public schools for more years than I care to remember, I must say that in my opinion Carlin's concept of many top administrators in education is pretty much on target.

ELIZABETH F. ORMSBY

Hobbled by Hobbes

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: David Carlin's article, "This, Too, Shall Pass" [January 15], concludes in a tone of cynicism unbecoming to the pages of *Commonweal*. I suppose it is always prudent to maintain a "show-me" attitude in political affairs, but cynicism plays dangerously into the logic of the Hobbesian analysis Carlin examines. If we continue to assume that the Soviet Union is at its core the societal analogue of the Hobbesian ego, we will continue dutifully to play its counterpart, and our assumptions will remain self-affirming: International politics will remain the clearest evidence of Hobbes's state of nature. Since in the "real world" the lion does not lie down with the lamb, nor the eagle with the bear, does it follow that periods of detente are nothing but aberrations from the inevitable norm of conflict?

As our globe grows smaller and the chances for conflict greater, so grows our need for accommodation, cooperation, and common ground. Carlin's tone is that of the so-called realist, resisting the temptation to dream of utopia. However, the issue is not utopia but survival. It is becoming increasingly clear that the viewpoint of a Hobbes will not provide the means even for this, his minimal goal. Not in a calculus of egos, but in a realistic search for a common humanity lies our hope for the future.

STEPHEN CALOGERO

Standards of death

Minneapolis, Minn.

In the editorial, "Manipulating Death" [January 15], arguments concerning the use of infants dying of anencephaly as sources of organs are reviewed, pondered, analyzed, and found wanting. The prospect of swapping imperfect lives for those that would otherwise be doomed due to the congenital failure of a heart, liver, or kidney is seen as ghastly to the point where it would be too much for the American public to bear.

But is it really true that the American public can't absorb the distinction between taking organs from a baby without a brain who has been pronounced dead and one who is not dead, merely brainless? I will grant that the public may find many more pleasant matters to contemplate than the gruesome and tragic choices posed by anencephaly. But the efforts of Loma Linda and other transplant centers to redeem something of value from a tragedy such as anencephaly are not as far beyond the pale of emotional and rational acceptance on the part of the average medical spectator as your editorial would suggest.

Current attempts—at Loma Linda University Medical Center in California and in other medical centers in Canada, Japan, and Western Europe—to use anencephalic infants as organ sources respect the boundary between life and death. No attempt is made to hasten or facilitate the dying process by those seeking organs. Nothing is done to add burden to lives of either the infants dying of anencephaly or their parents.

Organ procurement does not commence without the voluntary consent of the infant's parents. And no steps are taken to obtain organs or tissues until death has been pronounced.

It is true that anencephalic infants whose parents desire organ donation are placed on respirators at birth. But there would seem to be little that is disrespectful or dehumanizing about such an act.

Matters might be different if the children were to be kept on artificial life support until a recipient had been identified—a time that could extend to weeks or even months. But parents need time to grieve. And it would be undignified to maintain a baby's vital functions indefinitely, solely to obtain organs and tissues for others. By setting a time limit, those seeking organs assure that a decent level of respect is shown for the sensibilities of parents and for the humanity of the infant.

The thorny matter seized upon in the editorial as the reason for forbearance is: what evidence should be used to make a diagnosis of death? Admittedly, existing criteria of brain death cannot be applied to an infant who lacks most of his or her brain. But this horrible fact ought not to lead us to the perverse conclusion that such babies cannot die. Rather it ought to lead us to rethink the evidence, the criteria, the data that must be sought to determine death's presence where infants with anencephaly are concerned.

No one can measure electrical activity where no brain exists. And if we await the stoppage of the heart and lungs no organ source will exist. What should be done? Insist on inapplicable standards for the determination of death and forgo possible donations of life-saving organs, or recast the tests of death to see whether

(Continued on page 223)

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COMMONWEAL

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The class of the year 2000

Next September the high school graduating class of the year 2000 will enter first grade. These 3.5 million six-year-olds will be the first workers, the first college-goers, the first new voters of the twenty-first century. They will be among those responsible for paying off the U.S. deficit, struggling to control ozone depletion, working to limit arms and nuclear proliferation, contending with the fluctuating cycles of a world economy. Heady responsibilities for six-year-olds.

But solving the problems bequeathed to them by us is not the only reason they'll be going to school. They will need skills and knowledge to contend with their own problems—problems sure to be different from many we now imagine. Whatever the challenges of the next century, they will not be less complex than our own.

The education these children will receive, largely in public schools, is our investment in their life's work. What they learn—and don't learn—will shape or misshape their lives as parents, spouses, neighbors, citizens, workers, public officials. The challenges of political and economic life, the capacity to respond to an increasingly interdependent world will need their skills at negotiation and discussion, their imaginative efforts to work through claims and counter-claims to limited resources. So it is not only the basics—reading, writing, calculating—that they must learn, and not just the useful—programming, debating, arbitrating—but also the intangibles—a sense of fair play, of honesty, of affection for their peers and teachers.

Children have an enormous potential for learning all of that—potential that schools and teachers foster. And some will certainly learn. But about others, even now, we know better. We know about the conditions in which many of these children are growing up. We know about some of the schools they will attend.

First, the children. The Children's Defense Fund reports the following: One-quarter, some 800,000 of them, are poor. Being poor doesn't mean these children won't do well in school; many certainly will. But being poor; being black, Hispanic, or native American; or growing up in a single-parent family increase the chances of school failure. If these children are homeless, they may not start school at all in September. About one-seventh, or 500,000 of these 3.5 million children, are at risk of dropping out of school before they reach the twelfth grade. One-half have mothers in the workforce, but only a fraction have quality day care. Over 500,000 (14.4 percent) of these beginning first graders live in families headed by their mothers. Among these are approximately 295,000 children born to teen-aged mothers, who probably did not finish high school and have limited resources for raising and supporting their children.

Second, there are the schools. The crude measures by which we judge schools and teachers—test scores and national comparisons—have been inching up over the

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last few years in schools that already do relatively well. A recent report from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching shows that even these modest signs of improvement are missing from large urban schools. Rather than improvements, the Carnegie report describes "stifling bureaucracies, unmotivated students, and crumbling buildings." A University of Chicago study of 450 public high schools in metropolitan Los Angeles gives a closer look at one such urban set of schools: "The gap between test performances at schools where most students are from minority groups and those where most students are white has grown significantly in the last six years." Schools must struggle, then, not only with the effects of discrimination on the students and their families, but with "all the other difficulties that come from poverty, particularly in communities where poverty is everywhere and few families have personal success and resources or real hope for obtaining them."

Perhaps more than any other area of national life, education suffers from a depletion of human and material resources. Our best college graduates are not themselves becoming teachers. The decline in the birth rate and school-aged children has not meant reallocation of teachers and money to schools that need more, but cutbacks in budgets. Too often, teachers and principals are dictated to by far-off bureaucracies and policymakers; real accountability, when it is finally demanded, is lost in a maze of accusations, defenses, reforms, and counter-reforms, in everything but real teaching and real learning.

The pat answers to these particular problems are more money and better teachers, and in this case, the pat answers are among the right answers. Schools and classrooms need renovation. A lower student-teacher ratio, especially in the early years, means hiring more teachers. Twenty-five or thirty students to a teacher, when many students start out behind in reading, math, and basic classroom decorum, can only end in frustration and truancy among students as well as teachers. We could also put more money into preschool education. There is indisputable evidence that Head Start makes children smarter, keeps them from dropping out of school, and increases the chances that they will graduate from high school and go to college.

More money, more autonomy, stronger social supports would probably not attract the "best and the brightest" now going into junk bond sales, but they would attract, and help keep, many more young, bright people to teaching. Finally, teachers have to be held accountable for their classroom performances. They have been effective organizers on their own behalf as Maurice Berube points out in his analysis of the teachers' unions (p. 207). Now some of their political and educational clout needs to be exercised on behalf of their students.

Another perspective

If more money and better teachers are the easy answers, they are not, for some children, the most relevant answers. For some children, schools can do almost nothing, if there is not a whole-hearted commitment from the rest of us to intervene in and heal their families and communities. William Julius Wilson, in *The Truly Disadvantaged* (Chicago, 1987), writes of a cross-generational deprivation so unrelenting and so pervasive that better schools and dedicated teachers may not be enough.

We know of such a school in East Harlem, and because statistics, as striking as they are, do not always convey the sense of individuals, we asked a teacher in this school what she thought her children needed. Many of her children live in the midst of brutality at home and on the streets. Drug and alcohol abuse are common. With these come prostitution, violence, jail, chaos. Children are shifted back and forth between mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and, when all else fails, to foster homes. Men beat women, adults beat children, and children hurt each other. The children see and are subject to physical and sexual abuse. They come to school with bruises and burn marks. They come to school angry, tired, and confused. But they come to school because it is the one place in their lives where there is order and calm; it seems to be the one place where they are greeted with affection. "In a word," she concluded, "these children need everything."

PANAMANIA

Panama, population 2 million, is a country of tremendous strategic importance, particularly to the United States. Cut off access to the Panama Canal and world shipping suffers. Close down Panama's eighty-mile oil pipeline and Alaskan oil cannot flow to ships bound for refineries in the Gulf. Panama is an international financial center, whose secrecy laws attract a variety of covert activities and have turned Panama into the money-laundering hub of the Latin American drug trade. Panama is a base for 10,000 U.S. Southern Command troops and U.S. intelligence operations in Latin America.

Strategic importance explains, at least in part, why the U.S. has, over the last two decades, preferred to look the other way while democratic government in Panama was undermined by an increasingly violent and corrupt military. It explains why the U.S. has promoted whatever promised to maintain "stability"—for stability keeps the canal, banks, pipeline, and bases open—while missing so many opportunities to encourage Panamanian civilian groups that might have restored democracy by now. Might.

Consider:

- that the U.S. (in 1956) virtually founded the national

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military that became the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF);

- that in 1967 the U.S. not only failed to protest when Brig. General Omar Torrijos overthrew the thrice-elected president, Arnulfo Arias Madrid, and established a military dictatorship, but continued to train and aid the military;
- that in ratifying the Panama Canal Treaty in 1977, the U.S. Senate demanded only that free speech and opposition parties be restored, while tolerating the military dictatorship itself;
- that the U.S. raised scarcely a protest in 1985, when the tortured and beheaded body of Dr. Hugo Spadafora, who had told U.S. officials that Noriega was dealing in cocaine, was discovered;
- that the U.S. had substantial evidence that Noriega was a double agent—on the payroll of both the U.S. and Cuba, aiding both the *contras* and the Sandinistas—as well as a major cocaine trafficker. Yet the U.S. did nothing to show disapproval, until recent efforts culminated this February in indictments in Miami against Noriega.

There has been a shift in policy for the better. Since last June, the U.S. has changed its approach to Panama's dictator, pressuring Noriega to step down. What happened? Former chief of staff of the PDF, Col. Roberto Díaz Herrera, testified publicly to the government corruption most Panamanians suspected, including the charge that Noriega had ordered the death of Spadafora. Díaz's confession sparked major civil protest and inspired a group of young businessmen to form the National Civil Crusade, a coalition of two hundred organizations including the Catholic church, working for Noriega's ouster.

Díaz's confession also set off a volley of diplomatic shots between the U.S. and Panama: the U.S. Ambassador expressed interest in a full investigation of Díaz's charges; the PDF responded by allowing hooligans to attack the U.S. embassy; the U.S. then suspended aid to Panama. As demonstrations and strikes continued, the U.S. froze all of its Panamanian assets and applied the economic pressures still in force.

Even if Noriega steps down and out of Panama, then what? Noriega's leave-taking makes room for the next dictator, attracted to the billion-dollar drug and armament trade, capable of rule by force, and tutored in exploiting U.S. strategic interests. Only if the citizens of Panama are able to uproot the military dictatorship itself can representative government, and the true stability essential to U.S. interests, be restored.

But the seriousness of U.S. resolve to buttress Panama's struggle toward democracy is difficult to determine. "We did not suggest the removal of other officers," a State Department spokesman recently said about terms for Noriega's departure. Why didn't the State Department press for the removal of, at least, Noriega's most notorious henchmen? Because the U.S. wants to "maintain the integrity of the professional institution" of the Panama Defense Forces, the spokesman said. Certainly, U.S. policymakers should focus on efforts to support the institutions and political parties essential to democracy. But that means insisting on a Panamanian military controlled by a duly elected civilian president. Is that what the State Department has in mind?

The U.S. should exert influence and pressure to assist Panamanian democrats and refuse to settle merely for the ouster of Noriega. So far, long-term U.S. policy goals seem shortsighted, as though Noriega himself—not the entrenched drug business, the military establishment, the shattered economy, and the pervasive corruption—is the problem.

NOT QUITE ON A ROLL

Across the country, hiring signs have replaced firing lines. Ten million new jobs have been added to the economy in the last six years—700,000 since January 1 alone—and the February unemployment rate dipped to 5.6 percent, the lowest figure for the Reagan tenure. But while more and more Americans are putting their shoulder to the wheel, the wheel itself is out of alignment and becoming misshapen.

Take a close look. Employment opportunities in the U.S. have undergone a drastic structural realignment in the last twenty years. Nine out of ten new jobs have been in the service rather than in the manufacturing sector. Between 1979 and 1985 the U.S. suffered a net loss of 1.7 million manufacturing jobs. While those jobs have been replaced in some measure by new ones in the service area, there is no long-term guarantee that the U.S. will be any more competitive in services than we are currently in manufacturing. Second, nearly 28 percent of all new jobs are part-time. In 1986 alone, nearly 18 million U.S. workers were employed less than half the year and had annual incomes of less than $10,000. Many of these workers were "involuntary part-timers," people who wanted but could not find full-time work. Third, there is a new and diverse "hard core of non-working Americans," people who have simply given up looking for jobs. According to the National Committee for Full Employment, this January 13.3 million Americans were unemployed or underemployed, making for a real rate of 11 percent, far from the rosy Reagan jobless figure of 5.6 percent. Fourth, in what economists call the pauperization of work, 73 percent of the new jobs produced in the service sector from 1979 to 1987 were in its lowest-paying categories, such as retail trade. According to David Dembo of the Council on International and Public Affairs, weekly earnings in the retail trade are only 43 percent of earnings in the manufacturing sector. Finally, there is a growing trend in the U.S. toward hiring full-time *temporary* workers. Many businesses prefer such workers because they cost less, do not have to be paid added benefits (often shifting the cost of health care and pensions to the public sector), are easily dismissed, and have the added effect of tempering the demands of regular workers.

These facts raise many questions. As the U.S. bishops stated in *Economic Justice for All*, the first priority in creating a just society is to provide employment opportunities and just wages for all adults who are able to work. To accomplish this

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in the U.S. today, argues Michael Harrington (*Dissent*, Winter 1988), U.S. labor and managerial forces must be radically upgraded, in both the service and manufacturing sectors. Such an upgrading must start with schooling, and in some cases, reschooling. Last year, 84 percent of New York Telephone's 90,000 job applicants failed its basic math and English tests.

No wonder, then, the wheel seems damaged and out of alignment. While it need not be totally reinvented, to roll it needs to be reinflated from the ground up.

INVESTING IN CHILDREN

PRESCHOOL PENURY

TEACHING AT $4.12 AN HOUR

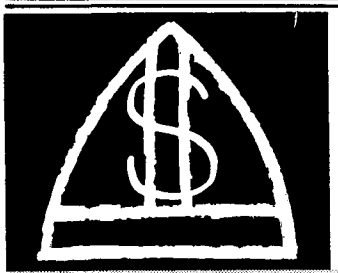
At a recent party my wife took some good natured kidding from friends about the "college schedule" of her Montessori nursery school. The remarks apparently arose from her decision to take an extra week off over the holidays; earlier, she heard similar comments about ending the year in early May. Her schedule has been shaped in part by that of her college-professor husband and college-age children, so the "college schedule" remark was not entirely inappropriate. But neither was her unspoken response: "I wish I made a college-level salary."

We calculated that, at $14,000 tuition (not including room, board, and fees), parents of college students with a four-course load, now standard in many places, pay $44.87 for each hour of class contact with a professor. Fortunately for the professors, colleges have other sources of income, because an assistant professor making $24,000 early in a career, teaching three classes, earns slightly over $100 for every hour in class.

Nursery school parents pay $1,400—the going rate at local Montessori schools, for 136 days, two-and-a-half hours per day—a rate of $4.12 an hour for the services of a teacher and aide. That is about what parents pay for a baby-sitter, if they are lucky. Parents understandably desire small classes and excellent facilities for their children; at my wife's school that means a maximum of fifteen children a session, with a teacher and aide. When a three-year insurance policy expired this fall the school found that rates had increased 1000 percent (not a hundred but a thousand) from $180 per year to almost $1,800. Add in rent, supplies, and expensive educational materials; consider the lack of the college's endowment, government and alumni support, and ability to add on fees for labs and equipment; and you may get a profit, before taxes, which amounts to between half and three-quarters of the disgraceful starting pay of a local grade school teacher.

Now it could be argued that the $14,000 college tuition includes more than class time. There are libraries and labs, perhaps proportionately more expensive than even Montessori equipment. Then there is the advanced training of the faculty, admittedly longer than the early childhood credits now required even for nursery school aides by the state's Office for Children, or the advanced studies required to become a head teacher, or the lengthy study and internship experience required for Montessori certification. Then, of course, professors do research, publish the results, attend committee meetings, correct papers, prepare classes, and advise students. All that may take more energy, patience, dedication, and time than preparing the classroom, calming the over-active and motivating more passive children, searching for new educational strategies, planning and organizing learning projects, filling out long forms for state regulatory agencies, recruiting students, meeting with parents, and trying to keep up on the professional literature. Maybe. But a cost to parents of $44.87 an hour, and a professorial salary of $100 per class hour compared to $4.12 to cover the teaching time of teacher and aide?

There are other interesting points to the "college schedule"



This is one in a series of articles appearing in *Commonweal* that examines different aspects of the U.S. bishops' pastoral, *Economic Justice for All.*

You get what you pay for

There is no such thing as a free lunch. A corollary of this old adage now faces those who hire personnel for the Catholic church: You get what you pay for. Until Catholic schools, parishes, and other church organizations take that fact into account, they will have to depend on well-motivated and well-intentioned, but often inadequately trained personnel and unpredictable volunteers, while yearning for the days of the real "free lunch" so generously provided by religious orders.

Few in the church today would deny that there is a moral need to offer employees a just wage. The pastoral letter on the economy directly addressed the issue: "All the moral principles that govern the just operation of any economic endeavor apply to the church and its agencies and institutions; indeed the church should be exemplary."

The difficulty in this situation is that the determination of a just wage often depends on the subjective evaluation of employers, be they pastors, trustees, or councils, who draw on their past experiences, preconceived judgments,

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remark. Many parents who seek out nursery school education dream of their children at Harvard, Amherst, and other colleges with tuitions well above $14,000, tuitions they would be happy to pay if their children could only gain admission. The president of one college once remarked to me that "the tuition goes up and up and the parents rarely complain." Most parents want the best for their children, and many are familiar with the scholarly evidence on the importance of early childhood experiences. The problem, of course, is that these same parents are at an age when they are getting established in their careers, buying the now so expensive houses, struggling to make ends meet while spending time with their families. In their heads most would admit that "quality day care" and good nursery school education are investments in their children's future, but the economic realities suggest meeting those needs at the lowest possible cost. And, at those same parties where one might hear a comment about "college schedules," one also would find few as interested in the work of the nursery school teacher as that of the college professor. After all, aren't science, literature, history, and politics more important than guiding fifteen small children for five hours a day? Maybe people who do that work are only worth the few dollars an hour one pays the high school student in late afternoons.

Good day care and early childhood education are available to only a minority of American families. Despite the demonstrated achievements of Head Start, despite a decade of learned discussion about working mothers, two-career families, and work, not welfare, despite mountains of data on the critical situation facing minority and poor families and their children, we as a nation have made no serious commitment to those of our children we know are less and less likely to finish high school, much less pay $14,000 tuitions to college.

Andrew Hacker recently suggested that if we really wanted to face the stark realities of poverty, we might consider making the kind of commitment to preschool and elementary education we made to higher education with the G.I. bill after World War II and during the post-Sputnik years. With the private sector increasingly able and willing to provide job-related

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and current worries (usually a tight financial picture) when considering salaries.

Faced with this problem, our parish, Saint Matthias (Milwaukee), formed a personnel committee whose task was to attempt to arrive at a just wage for both its support and professional staff. In beginning our work we made several assumptions.

First, a just wage must take into account the basic housing, food, clothing, and transportation needs of an employee with two dependents. We gathered statistics from the U.S. Department of Labor, from economic indicators in our own state of Wisconsin, and from a survey of the cost of living in our parish. In addition, for support-staff salaries we looked at the scales of local unions and at salaries for comparable work in local businesses.

Second, a uniform salary scale had to be developed that took into account varying levels of training and experience and that permits the employer to calculate and budget for future payroll costs.

Third, the church is competing with other businesses and institutions for the skills and services of qualified personnel. In order to remain competitive and maintain excellence, it must offer salaries that are attractive to prospective employees.

Working with these assumptions and the figures we had gathered, the personnel committee developed two possible wage scales for the professional staff, which includes a director of religious education, a family minister, a youth minister, and a liturgist. Scale A, which the parish ultimately adopted for the professional staff, provided for a step-by-step increase ranging from $17,000 for a beginning employee with no degree to $29,600 for an employee with a master's degree and fifteen years' service. Increments in salary are not automatic, but are dependent on supervisory evaluations that are conducted twice a year and are properly documented. Scale B, which would have been more expensive, was developed to provide beginning employees increasing income in their early years in order to retain them.

A scale was also drawn up for the clerical staff; it ranged from $4.50 an hour for the school receptionist in his or her first year to $7.40 for the bookkeeper in the fifth year of employment. The salary scales are independent of other employee benefits, such as health insurance and pension.

In the final analysis, a just wage represents more than an adequate monetary figure; in the case of the church it is also a reflection of the visible relationships between the pastoral staff and employees. These relationships establish morale in parish operations and play an intangible but vital role in the performance and retention of personnel. Beyond this lies the challenge of defining and recognizing the ministry of the laity in church institutions—a task that may prove to be more difficult and of more consequence than the relatively simple one of arriving at a just wage.

Nevertheless, the just wage is a foundation. The church as an employer operates in a competitive market. The importance of its mission cannot afford substandard personnel paid substandard wages offering substandard services. The answer is not to simply get by or put up with the situation, but to honestly report to parishioners the value of parish services and their true cost. Most of the faithful when given an honest and open explanation of financial matters will "pay for what they get."

NORBERT L. RIEGERT

Norbert L. Riegert has recently retired after serving thirty-seven years in the Milwaukee Catholic school system.

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training at all levels, with plenty of evidence showing the difficulty and cost of overcoming in high school the lack of motivation and skills with which students arrive, perhaps society would receive proportionately greater benefits from investment in early rather than late education. At the very least we might begin to ask whether we can have a full-employment economy—capable of fulfilling both the modest hopes of single parents and the less modest expectations of two-career professional couples—without increased attention to our children and a more generous attitude toward those we entrust with their care.

DAVID J. O'BRIEN

David J. O'Brien's latest book is Faith and Friendship *(Diocese of Syracuse, N.Y., 1987), a history of the diocese. He teaches at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.*

CAMPAIGN REPORT

JACKSON'S CANDIDACY
TIPTOEING AROUND THE QUESTIONS

With apologies to the late Judy Garland and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, there is growing in the Democratic party, "a Somewhere Over the Rainbow Coalition." The reason? Jesse Jackson scares voters, some because of their racism, some because they have questions about his past, and some because they don't like his views. But perhaps as much as any factor, it is because he is a pioneer. Once again, the Democrats are in the tricky business of "pioneering."

Pioneering can be done shabbily or skillfully. When it is done well a qualified candidate from a previously excluded group can take a position of leadership, be it political, cultural, athletic, or social. An important element in successful pioneering is the opportunity that interested parties—politicians, social leaders, baseball managers—are given to be candid and uninhibited in their assessments of those candidates.

Four years ago the Democrats did a poor job of pioneering. The time was almost certainly right to have a woman on the presidential ticket, but in retrospect it probably would have been better for Democrats and for the women's movement if that candidate had not been Geraldine Ferraro. While her service in the House of Representatives was first-rate and though she seemed to give the ticket strength in urban ethnic areas, her family's financial dealings were not up to intense national scrutiny. If Branch Rickey, the man who integrated baseball, or Jim Rowe, the aide to FDR and Lyndon Johnson who paid special attention to potential political missteps, had been at Mondale's side, this case of pioneering would have been managed more deftly.

Pioneering can also turn out badly if decision makers don't understand that individuals who bring about social change aren't necessarily the most representative or most militant members of the excluded group. Civil rights lawyer and advocate Joseph Rauh points out, "Most great breakthroughs come when the person is far from being identified with the stereotypes of that group. The first Catholic president, John F. Kennedy, did not strike people as a 'typical Irish Catholic.' And Sandra Day O'Connor seemed safe because of her conservative views. Tom Bradley was the first black mayor of Los Angeles and he was a policeman. The first Jewish candidate for president was an Episcopalian—Barry Goldwater in 1964."

Pioneering need not necessarily come without controversy. FDR's appointment of Frances Perkins as the first woman member of the cabinet caused a furor, but according to James MacGregor Burns, "FDR chose Perkins as [someone] who had learned how to advance social welfare legislation by getting along with the politicians." Roosevelt knew Perkins's qualifications and her basic probity from working with her when she was New York industrial commissioner.

Is Jackson the right pioneer? Consider some of the issues pro and con.

The party's establishment and its leaders often react negatively to pioneers because they cross the bounds of acceptable political alternatives. In *Thinking in Time*, Richard Neustadt and Ernest May report of Lyndon Johnson's reaction to Martin Luther King's tactics, "LBJ . . . was shocked when Martin Luther King moved past what Johnson thought the proper bounds of civil rights. Angrily, LBJ charged King's change to human weakness, selfish politicking, or deficient patriotism." Sound familiar?

As many Democrats try to separate Jackson's "reasonable" domestic policy from his "radical" foreign policy, they may be falling into the same kind of short-term thinking. For example, Jackson's notions about partial forgiveness of third-world debt actually may be the way to go if the finance ministers of Brazil and Mexico fail to sell their renegotiated debt packages.

Another reaction is to decry particular pioneers. Jackie Robinson wasn't the right one, but Roy Campanella would be; Martin Luther King was going too far, but Roy Wilkins was just fine. If Democrats automatically deny Jackson a significant place in the party, blacks and whites who identify with black hopes will see it as one more kick in the teeth. With the argument that "Jackson just isn't the right black," the white majority in this country once again shows its insensitivity.

In several important respects, Jackson is the right pioneer: he's running a good race, he's in the lead with delegates, and, with that, he's earning the right to head the party. On the other hand, if the Democrats do go with Jackson, it may be the biggest trade-off in their history (although after playing it relatively safe and losing 49 states in 1984, it's hard to see how much worse they could do in a national election).

Key voting groups (Southern whites, urban ethnics, and Hispanics) and a key support group (the Jews) show—at a minimum—uneasiness with Jackson; and—at a maximum—

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they're scared to death of him. It may be racism, but it may also be, as Mary McGrory has written, that some voters are just not at ease with his ego, his past, or his foreign policy.

Ego need not be disqualifying; many of FDR's contemporaries thought he was outrageously self-serving. But Jackson's past and his foreign policy are troublesome, and it is here that his pioneering candidacy runs up against the need for candidness about his real views.

For example, one cannot ignore the 1984 *New York Time*'s report that Jackson's Operation PUSH received $200,000 from the Arab League and Jackson's denial that he knew the source of the funds. His past and current ties with Yasir Arafat, Fidel Castro, Lewis Farrakhan, and even Bert Lance should be subjects of inquiry.

In addition to Jackson's remarks about "Hymietown," there is this from a 1979 "60 Minutes" broadcast (as reported in an Anti-Defamation League ad in the *Washington Post* in 1984): "When it came to the division of power we did not get from the Jews the slice of cake we deserved. . . . The Jews do not share with us control of wealth, broadcasting stations, and other centers of power."

More recently he told *Tikkun*, "Whoever is dealing with South Africa is wrong, but Israel is such a substantial beneficiary, Israel is subsidized by America, which includes black Americans' tax money, it [Israel] subsidizes South Africa."

In 1984, Jackson proposed to cut military spending by 30 percent, nearly three times the amount advocated by George McGovern. What would he actually do if elected? His advocacy of closer ties with Cuba, while making sense to political science professors, may be the most provocative policy proposal in this presidential campaign.

Democratic party leaders and candidates are tiptoeing around these questions for at least two reasons. Either they see Jackson as a broker and want to make a deal with him or they don't want to appear to have been critical and negative (and seem racist) when they're working on the assumption that he will be sidelined, and after Michigan that is foolhardy. Neither position treats him as a real contender.

In a short time, we will know whether Jackson is the right or wrong pioneer. In the meantime, his party opponents do no one a favor, especially Jackson himself, by treating him with patronizing disdain. They now must treat him as a peer. In competitive politics, of course, peerage can mean savaging a fellow as often as it means saluting him. Let the politicians act like politicians!

PETER B. KOVLER

Peter B. Kovler is a previous contributor to Commonweal. *He was chairman of the Franklin Roosevelt National Centennial Committee and is co-executive producer of a Marcel Ophuls documentary on Klaus Barbie to be released this spring.*

OF SEVERAL MINDS Abigail McCarthy

A TALE OF TWO COLLEGES

SETTING PRECEDENTS FOR LEADERSHIP

The preoccupations and problems of the academic world have for some years now been the stuff around which writer Amanda Cross weaves her literate, talky, and diverting mystery stories. In her 1967 novel, *The James Joyce Murder*, her heroine Kate Fansler, professor of English literature, is offered the prospect of becoming president of a fictional Jay College for Women. She scorns the idea but her would-be sponsor urges her to consider it for two reasons:

"Kate, remember it is a position of power and power is one of the most remarkable experiences there is." And, "Believe it or not, there's a shortage of really competent women around, let alone women who aren't married to men whose careers or egos foreclose any possibility of their having a college president for a wife. . . . As for the unmarrieds, those who can hold their own in the world of college and university administration. . . ." The implication was clear.

That a college presidency is an office of power and that it also is seen as an office of deep symbolic significance was illustrated in two presidential appointments within the past month. A woman was appointed president of Gallaudet University, the national school for the deaf. Elizabeth Ann Zinsser's academic qualifications were impressive; she has been a vice-chancellor at the University of North Carolina. That her appointment

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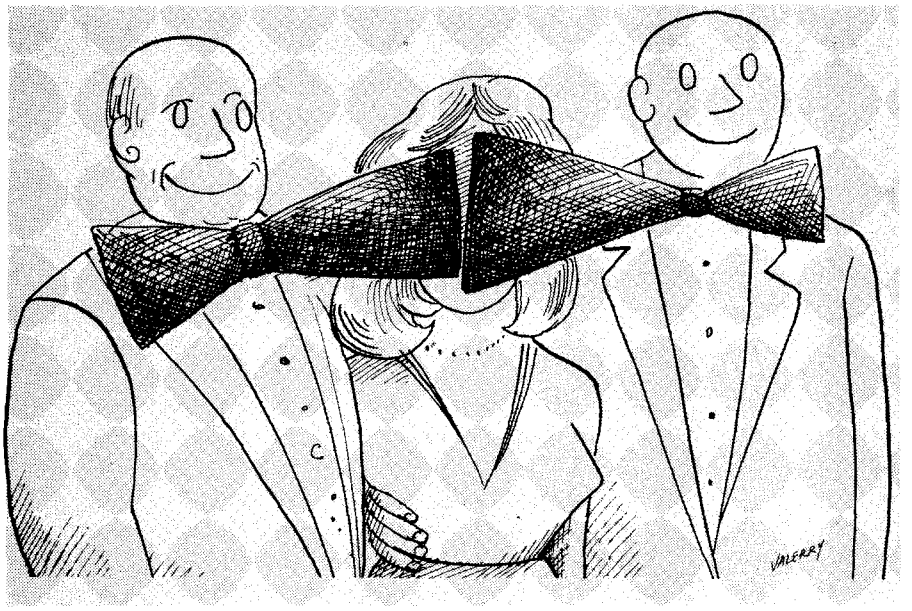

was a first for women, however, was overshadowed by the fact that she, a hearing person, had been chosen over two finalists who were deaf. First the students, then the nation's deaf, rose up in protest. The uproar was impressive and effective. Zinsser withdrew and a Gallaudet dean, I. King Jordan, one of the deaf finalists, was appointed in her stead.

The other presidential appointment attracted little notice—yet one would have thought it might also arouse protest. Trinity College, for ninety-one years one of the outstanding Catholic colleges for women, inaugurated its first male president. Press releases stressed the fact that Trinity is the only woman's college in the country to have *two* members of Congress among its alumnae—Barbara Kennelly of Connecticut and Nancy Pelosi of California. Also an alumna is Kathleen Black who is vice-president of Gannett and publisher of Gannett's *USA Today*. (Gannett, incidentally, is one of the four corporations cited recently for outstanding progress in advancing women to positions beyond middle management.) Why a male president for a college which has produced such women leaders? Why protest at Gallaudet and no protest at Trinity?

The circumstances differ significantly, it is true. Gallaudet had never in its 124 years had a deaf president or a majority of deaf members on its board. Trinity had had nine decades of experience with women presidents—all of them members of its sponsoring religious order, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. The two institutions are similar only in that their constituencies are drawn from subcultures. Trinity, in effect, draws from two: the Catholic culture and the world of women.

Gallaudet and Trinity were at very different moments in history in terms of the population each serves and represents. Elizabeth Ann Zinsser, in resigning, made a very graceful and instructive assessment of the situation at Gallaudet. There is "a time in the history of a population" when they have to take charge of their own fate, she said. The protest was not so much directed at her own appointment as it was an expression of a civil rights movement for the deaf—"a very special moment in time for the deaf community." Just as the blacks reached the point at which they could lead their own struggle, so had the deaf. Today there are more than 100 deaf persons with Ph.D.s, and the technology of communication has advanced.

William Raspberry, one of the most thoughtful and sensitive of black columnists, however, warned that the comparisons with the 1960s civil rights victories need to be drawn with care. "It still does not follow that every service for every special population must be administered by a member of the client group. . . . Deafness may be a handicap for a Gallaudet president—in fund raising, in advocacy, in forging links to the hearing world."

How does all this apply to Trinity? What was true for Amanda Cross's fictional Jay College in the late 1960s is, alas, still true for women's colleges—especially Catholic women's colleges—in the 1980s. There are some outstanding examples of women leaders in the field, but in general there is a shortage of women who can hold their own in the world of Catholic college administration—in the areas of (to change Raspberry's words a bit) fund raising, advocacy, and in forging links to the corporation and foundation world, as well as to the male-dominated Catholic world. In the 1970s, feminist educator Dr. Bernice Sandler deplored the fact that except for "the magnificent Catholic nuns" women's colleges were turning to male leadership. Now in the 1980s the pool of religious prepared for leadership in higher education has declined drastically.

Martha Perry of Trinity's public relations office said that, faced with the realities of the eighties, Trinity's board decided on a gender-neutral search for the best president. "It was felt that after all the women presidents, our commitment to women was clear." And Trinity had special needs. In a letter to the alumnae, Kathleen Black and board president Sister Regina Finnegan made that clear:

> Needless to say the decision to elect a lay president, a male president, was a source of deep introspection and intense discussion for the search committee, the board, and the entire college community. On balance, given Trinity's need for stability and sound fiscal management, restoration of collegiality, and confident leadership, we and the board believe that our election of Jim (sic) McGrath will insure a healthy, vibrant future for Trinity as a Catholic woman's college.

There is a moment in history for each institution. Each has a life of its own. Women's colleges have led the way in "gender-free" elections. Dare we hope that such an election will some time be held at Georgetown, Catholic University, or Notre Dame? □

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CATHOLICS AT COLUMBIA

SHAPING A CAMPUS MINISTRY

PAUL E. DINTER

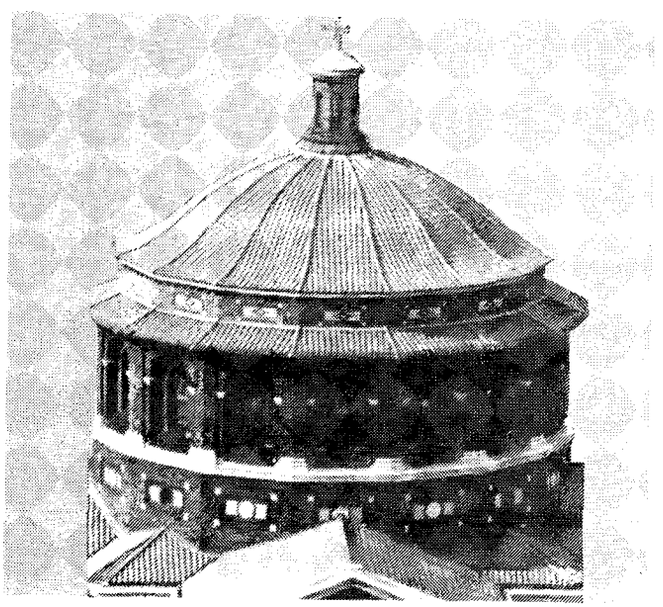
April 1988 marks the twentieth anniversary of an unprecedented upheaval in American higher education. That spring, the nation's campuses became the staging ground for fervent opposition to the American government's policies in Vietnam: buildings were occupied; classes were suspended; students set upon their teachers and other students; leadership collapsed; the police were called in; and blood flowed in the halls of academe. Columbia University was deeply affected by these events—Mark Rudd, the Strawberry Statement, and the Morningside Park gymnasium are benchmarks of sixties' history.

Less well remembered is the impact of those events on the National Newman Apostolate. Showing strong growth in the immediate post-World War II years, the Newman Apostolate was formally recognized by the U.S. bishops in 1962. Only eight years later it had passed from the national scene. Though individual Newman groups survived, the dominant apologetic model of Catholic campus ministry ceased to exist as a usable framework for Catholic ministry on secular campuses.

Under these dual conditions—of uncertainty in campus ministry and drift in the university—I found myself suddenly assigned as Catholic chaplain to Columbia after the term began in September 1973. I had a master's degree and a penchant for working with young people, but my only experience in campus ministry was a few months of service as a deacon at Vassar College. Since I was the fourth priest in five years to occupy the Catholic chaplaincy, my new colleagues at Columbia's Earl Hall greeted me with polite skepticism; the university barely noticed my arrival. The lack of welcome had less to do with me than the trauma of April 1968. Columbia University, its administrators and faculty, was still trying to grapple with the breakdown of community it had suffered. One of the ways it did so was by distancing itself from the religious groups whose more activist chaplains had associated themselves with the student protests. In reaction, Columbia adopted a "wall of separation," secularizing its chaplaincies and discontinuing salaries for the Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic "counselors" (what we today call campus ministers).

If I had known then what I was in for, I would have refused the assignment. But in 1973, armed with a certain enthusiasm, strong convictions, and not a little neurotic energy, I strode into this stridently secular setting hoping to nurture a community of faith among its Catholic members. The model and the strategies I used flowed from my theological orientation, my personality, and the capacities of the students and staff who have been part of campus ministry over the last fifteen years. As I prepare to take my leave of Columbia, I would like to reflect on the campus ministry I have shaped and which has shaped me as a man and as a priest.

Finding a "critical mass" of interested students on campus in 1973, I sought to create a place for their questioning and their belonging, their intellectual strivings, and their religious imagining. The place was the renamed Catholic Campus Ministry (CCM) and the strategies we developed encompassed a liturgical community, counseling and teaching, and the estab-



REV. PAUL E. DINTER *is a priest of the Archdiocese of New York who has served as Catholic campus minister at Columbia University since 1973. He begins a sabbatical year of study on July 1.*

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lishment of a residence sponsored by the CCM for students interested in a "community" environment.

By and large, Catholic students, especially undergraduates, are often surprised to find themselves at Columbia: surprised at the environment, which is so different from their past experiences; or surprised that they've made it to the "big time"; or surprised that, in the midst of such noble intellectual pursuits, there is so much loneliness and lack of caring.

Some students from strongly Catholic backgrounds have a homing instinct and make for the campus ministry office as a place of refuge. Others find themselves seriously in need of some intellectual and moral moorings and seek out the chaplaincy because it offers an alternative, especially in the Sunday liturgy, to the highly competitive classroom environment. Still other students are clearly ready for a vacation from the church and everything it represents. Sometimes the vacation lasts all four years; other times it's taken early on and by junior year there is a drifting back. Some students start enthusiastically and are waylaid by academic agnosticism, sophomore cynicism, or by a first serious sexual involvement. The few students with rigid Catholic certainties are often the most difficult to integrate into a mixed community of their peers. The pastoral tension that this creates is further aggravated by the desire of groups such as Opus Dei to promote a moralistic and repressive notion of Catholicism. Happily, a large and healthy number of students are content to search more deeply in matters of faith. They generally want something more than they're getting in the classroom or in late-night bull sessions in the dorms. They sense there is more to life than just thinking about it and they are willing to listen to the hints from their own experiences of guilt and grace and to move to some fuller understanding of creation and their place in it. Our Sunday liturgy has played a central role in that.

Based on both my conviction, as well as my style (for want of a more appropriate theological term), the CCM liturgy in the magnificent Romano-Byzantine St. Paul's Chapel on campus has always favored contemporary music (based on biblical, not sentimental, texts) set within an otherwise "traditional" Mass. I have never been convinced that students, in particular, or a campus congregation, in general, are the proper subjects for experimentation in worship. Preaching, praying, and singing done with conviction, sensitivity, and skill should characterize liturgical celebration. I remember being pressed by a priest from a New England campus to allow my students to preach at Mass. I lectured him, in turn, on the ministry of preaching and its proper function at the Eucharist. I doubt I made much of an impression. In the face of this and other gimmicks that have plagued liturgical ministry on campuses, I have always opted for the traditional framework of liturgy, especially as regards preaching. On the other hand, the CCM encouraged and promoted lay preaching in other liturgical contexts. For five years we sustained a Vespers service in the chapel sponsored by our Women's Center. While it suffered from a lack of general congregational support and from younger students' shyness on women's issues (!), it did help some women reach for their leadership potential and articulate both their struggle and their faith.

Central to our Sunday liturgy is my weekly meeting with the liturgy and music committee to read the Scriptures, puzzle over them, and set them in a musical framework for the following Sunday. This meeting has been the crucible for my ongoing reflection on preaching: my Eucharistic preaching is a primary expression of my marriage to the community of faith I serve. Unfaithfulness in this task through neglect, lazy moralizing, or intellectual or emotional coldness seems to me to be at least as bad as sexual infidelity. What's the sense of being celibate and struggling with this vocation, as the church presently defines it, if it does not free the ordained minister to risk intimacy with his congregation as a way of uncovering the mystery of God-with-us at the Eucharist?

Preaching and liturgical community have been at the heart of my campus ministry, an opportunity not available to many Catholic campus ministers or even possible on every campus, but an opportunity to be faithful that I would have been a fool to undervalue. Graced with talented musicians, the community has done its utmost to make the Sunday Eucharist the heart of who we are on campus. The results have been the consistent attendance of hundreds of students as well as the loyalty of alumni and alumnae to the celebration. From this has grown the willingness of so many members of the congregation to act on their faith on the campus and in the community.

My teaching and counseling have often, but not exclusively, been directed to those Catholics who have taken a vacation either explicitly or casually from the church. A Columbia journalism student did a master's essay on this phenomenon in our congregation (later published in *America*, "Six Who Came Back," September 26, 1976). This emphasis on re-explaining a community of faith ten years after the close of the Second Vatican Council, combined with the baptism and confirmation of students at the Easter Vigil, helped to give people a sense of choice about their faith. It was not a liability they were saddled with, but a virtuality they could choose for their adult life. Along with this sense of choice came a renewed ability and desire to participate in the life of the community.

Like it or not, young Catholics have (at least since the time of James Joyce!) tended to become fixated with the church in their adolescent years: they are either for it or against it, both equally uncritically. For the former (often those who have had a good experience in a Catholic high school), the heightened demands of being Catholic outside the parochial culture can lead them to contrast the new setting negatively with the "good ol' days" at St. Whoever's. They remain loyal to their high school experience and don't participate with the ministry

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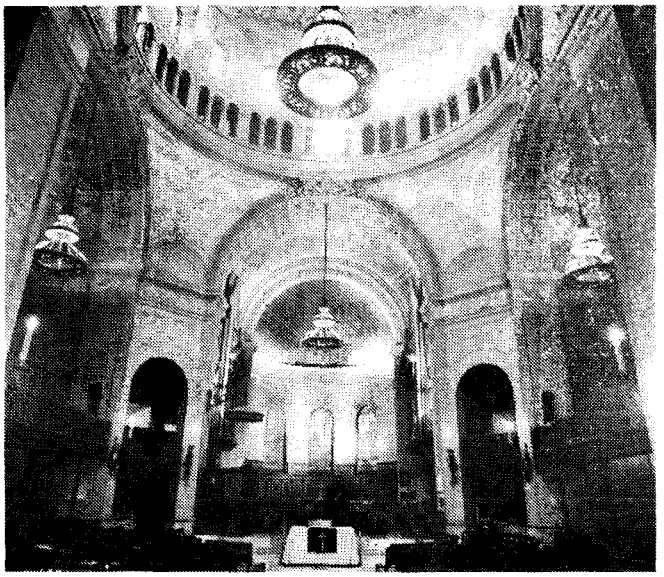

on a mixed campus. For those who were "turned off" early, the art of ministry resides in getting them to encounter a community of faith in a new light. Masses in the dorms, my presence at other-than-chaplaincy events, guest lecturing, running campus-wide events, such as an Oxfam hunger relief campaign—all are ways of encountering students who don't have a clue that I am there to begin with. Show students that there's more to Catholicism than their stereotypes allow and you're on your way to helping them develop a very different sense of what it means to be Catholic.

If the first five years of work with the CCM was getting Catholics used to expressing their faith at Columbia, the last ten have meant getting the university used to Catholics willing to express and act on their faith.

The occasion for this transition was a piece of history, which, when activated, had a way of changing people's lives. One day a disaffected student nervously walked into my office after returning from a semester in France. While there he had discovered something about being a Catholic his parochial upbringing had not prepared him for. He opened his well-thumbed copy of *The Seven Storey Mountain*, read a passage by Thomas Merton, and said to me, "That's not him. That's me!" Other students were less dramatic, but I came to appreciate that I was facing a rare opportunity in 1978 of bringing Merton back to his Alma Mater forty years after he had been baptized a Catholic at nearby Corpus Christi parish and ten years after he had died.

The events of the Thomas Merton Commemoration at Columbia brought two thousand people to campus for a series of religious events, inaugurated the Merton Lecture which has continued for ten years, built a sense of pride in the students who helped run it, and put the CCM in a financial hole that, for a few depressing months, we thought we would never be able to climb out of. But it introduced a whole new generation of students to Merton, his life and his writings.

This renewal of Merton's memory in 1978 helped to turn our attention outward to a society where renewed draft registration, an accelerated arms race, and economic policies began to shape the culture of the selfish eighties. A great deal of change began to occur in the economic fabric of New York City, and around Columbia there was a new juxtaposition of wealth and poverty. A variety of factors created a new market for private investors willing to gamble on the repopulation of formerly run-down areas of Manhattan. Single-room occupancy hotels (often populated by the elderly and deinstitutionalized mental patients) were emptied and converted to upscale housing. The former residents found themselves in the streets and their presence has characterized the neighborhoods since 1980. The university itself became an actor in the struggle for affordable housing in a way that, fairly or unfairly, has given this venerable institution as black a public eye as it has ever received and threatens to perpetuate the worst of the town-gown housing rivalry.

The need to attend to Lazarus at our gates received a significant impetus from Pope John Paul's speech at Yankee Stadium in October 1979. Very directly, his homily citing the duty of the rich to come to the aid of the poor nationally and internationally struck a chord in a core group of newly active students. Merton's impact, then John Paul's words, and a few talks by Dan Berrigan, S.J., all combined to orient the CCM in a new direction. Not content with arguing economics, philosophy, political science, history, or theology in the classroom, the students increasingly wanted to bring what they learned to the streets of New York, to the gates of weapons' laboratories and production facilities (even walking to Amarillo, Texas one summer), and into the homes and lives of the disadvantaged families living in the arc of poverty that surrounds the university, Morningside Heights. This new activism coincided with a continuing effort to create a small community where students could live and study together.

In the years preceding my arrival at Columbia, the Jewish Chaplaincy had opened two "communal houses" in renovated brownstones and the idea had caught on with a number of Catholic students. My decision to pick up the ball and run with it stemmed from a desire to put down roots on the campus, to provide a service as a way of staking a claim to ministry at the university, and to create an identity symbol for Catholics on campus. For the first eight years of the house's existence (named Ford Hall after my esteemed predecessor), I tried to finesse a sponsor-relationship that provided oversight through an elected council, a graduate resident, or a peer minister responsible for liaison with the larger campus ministry. The way the house worked and the role it had in the broader community depended almost entirely on the maturity of the students and their relative honesty or dishonesty about their communitarian commitment. When the house worked well, everyone benefited; when jealousy, cliques, and couple-politics dominated, we had headaches galore.

Acting the landlord and the disciplinarian when necessary, I realized early in 1982 that providing affordable housing on a

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campus and in a city short of it was not the best invitation to gathering a community. Here, the next chapter in the life of Ford Hall dovetailed with the development of the outward turn of campus ministry. In order to tie our residential facility to the new pastoral outlook of the active members of the CCM, a new core community moved into Ford Hall along with me (regrettably displacing some less committed residents). All the members of this new community, both those in residence and those living elsewhere, assumed some responsibility for helping to run the CCM service programs (a soup kitchen, shelter, Sunday school, big brothers/big sisters, clothing closet, etc.), as well as its education and action for peace. We strove to overcome exclusivity by welcoming all who associated with the community's mission and, though we were supported both financially and morally by many members of the Saint Paul's congregation, the intensity of the commitment and the intemperance of some of our stances against poverty, injustice, and the arms race did alienate others.

The real grace we received in those years was primarily evident when the community had run its course and finally dissolved in 1986: that despite the tragic death of one of our members in the first year we lived in community, the jailing of another member for civil disobedience, the strife over the role of women in the community, the tensions caused by a few uncompromising and unstable members, the enormous problem of hospitality and whom we could shelter, and the group's ambiguity over functional as well as formal authority (all New Testament issues mind you!), most of the members grew as individuals and in their understanding of our differing vocations to be disciples. Despite our failures, the Cor Jesu community's brief history provides us with much to celebrate and its legacy endures in the CCM and through two diverse institutions that evolved from it: the Pax Christi organizations in metropolitan New York and the large volunteer organization based at Columbia University, now called Community Impact.

This new organization (a not-for-profit corporation) represents a partnership among Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant agencies and campus ministries along with the Earl Hall Center at Columbia and is attracting wider support from private philanthropy as well. Its mission remains true to its initial goal of serving the "least ones," but has been augmented by a serious effort to broaden the educational experience of the students by involving them in concrete, well-managed, and professionally directed service projects.

[redacted] may be rash to harbor any sense of permanent accomplishment, but it certainly seems to me that the chemistry let loose when you combine a good worshipping community with attention to our spiritual tradition of growth and development (augmented by a psychologically attuned staff), when you enfranchise the laity and open up for them the challenging as well as the comforting aspects of Scripture, and when you promote both a sense of the church as inclusive and Catholic and a confidence that faith and learning go hand in hand, then you make it possible for even a minority community like the Catholic Campus Ministry to affect the day-to-day life and values of as large an institution as Columbia University in the City of New York.

For better or for worse, this chaplaincy has been shaped by my personality and style of ministry. I have tried to interact with my congregation by asking them to own personally what we are about. I can only minister to them if they will allow themselves to be served. This means that they must risk growing and changing. Their risking puts me on notice that I too must grow and change. Congregations and the priests who serve them have to work out their relationship as carefully as do lovers and spouses, parents and children. If either remains aloof, their roles and their lives will remain uncomplicated, but little of what the Gospels proclaim and the sacraments symbolize will take flesh. If they are willing to risk their attraction for each other, they will have to negotiate fears and anxieties, loves and hates, wounds and healing. Perhaps campus congregations make this particularly obvious. It probably helps account for the high mortality rate of celibates in campus ministry—the young people attracted to a vibrant ministry are so easy to love! It is harder, though, to serve them by struggling with them so they can find themselves and discover the uniqueness of their own journey to God. Once they know that you have joined them in their struggle, there is little they won't undertake with you, as my students have shown me over and over, most recently in the return to campus of the honored name of Cardinal Newman which today graces both an active undergraduate group and an ambitious new magazine of which I am particularly proud.

"Campus ministry" is not merely ministering at a college or university but ministering to the campus, its administrators, staff, and students. Campuses are increasingly succumbing to the forces of the marketplace and becoming trade schools for our advanced capitalist society. Though still refuges for sincere humanist scholars, who are tolerated for their colorful eccentricities, campuses are losing their souls. More than ever, they need to hear the challenge of repentance and the call to new life that ministry must have at its heart. Catholics have earned the right not merely to practice their faith unmolested at the secular university, they must now mature into communities whose conviction that faith enhances learning rather than diminishes it can help shape a campus environment more responsive to the needs of all its members to practice their humanity.

It would be fitting, and not a little ironic, if the underlying desire for more cooperative instead of competitive models of learning and social change, anchored firmly in the bedrock of religious humanism from which it was mined, could be brought home to the university by campus ministers, their staffs, and their communities whose main teaching function lies in their ability to set an example for the university and for the larger society. As Cardinal Newman proposed in his *Idea of a University*, the purpose of the university is to educate for the world; as we do on campuses, so our constituents will do in their lives and in their careers. So this campus minister has tried to do. □

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THE POWERFUL TEACHERS' UNIONS

POLITICAL CLOUT FOR THE STATUS QUO

MAURICE R. BERUBE

The National Education Association (NEA), with 1.8 million members, and the American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO (AFT), with 600,000 members, have become one of the most powerful political constituencies in the nation. With their considerable financial and personnel resources, these two unions maintain highly effective lobbying arms that press for favored legislation, and run political action committees (PACs) that support local, state, and national candidates. These endeavors have been remarkably effective in helping to elect mayors, governors, state legislators, members of Congress—and even one president, Jimmy Carter. The unions have reaped the rewards of their political involvement by having much of their legislative program adopted, while stopping what they have opposed.

But for all of their political clout, the teachers' unions have done very little to deal with many of the chronic problems plaguing the nation's schools and educational systems. There they play an essentially caretaker role: they have made incremental gains in salary and working conditions for their members, but otherwise have worked largely to preserve the educational status quo.

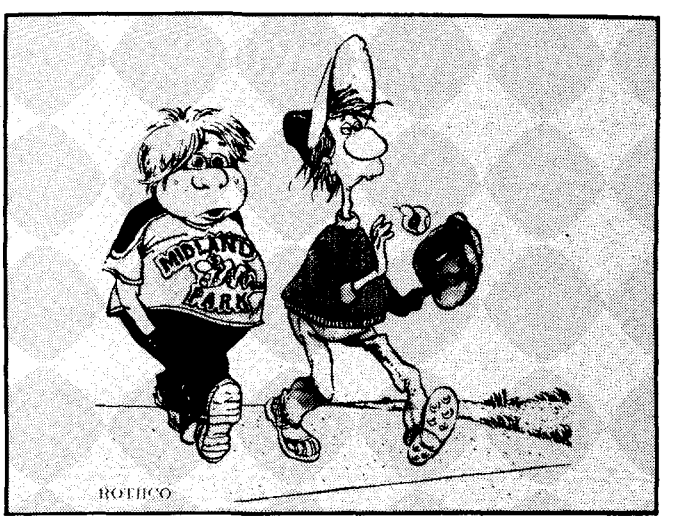
Union power may have made the teachers the chief representative of education in the halls of Congress and in state houses; but union politics has limited their power in the schoolhouse.

The NEA and the AFT have marked differences in certain of their educational goals as well as in their social and political objectives. Over the past generation, the NEA has moved from a promoter of the status quo to a more liberal orientation. At the same time, the AFT, under its former president, David Selden, supported a liberal—and at times radical—agenda, but now it has moved slightly to the right of center.

For the most part, the NEA and the AFT represent different wings of the Democratic party—the former liberal and the latter conservative. NEA house polls indicate that 41 percent of its members are registered Democrats, while 28 percent are Republicans. The AFT does not poll its members on their political affiliation, but it is probably quite similar to that of NEA members. That is certainly the conclusion of Chester E. Finn, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Education in the Reagan administration, who has written off the teacher union vote: They are "firmly in the Democratic camp" and the "Republicans rarely owe debts or favors to [them]."

The Republican write-off notwithstanding, teachers' unions have been enormously successful since entering the political arena in the mid-sixties. Starting with their collective bargaining breakthrough in 1961 and the right to negotiate union contracts, the unions did not have to take too many steps to become involved in the politics of school budgets and the elected officials who control them. By the 1984 presidential election campaign, for example, the NEA boasted more money than the entire labor movement—some $375 million—and was prepared to spend a portion of it in the election. In the 1980 campaign, one observer estimated that the NEA rounded up as many as 500,000 volunteers who worked on behalf of the union's favorite, Jimmy Carter.

On a congressional level, the unions have exerted immense influence. From 1973 to 1984, the NEA PAC successfully supported winners in 76 percent of their contests. In 1986, 80 percent of AFT- and NEA-backed candidates won.



"First day of school is so traumatic — all that crying and being dragged into class. . . . And that's just the teachers."

MAURICE R. BERUBE *is associate professor of urban education at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia. His most recent book is* Education and Poverty *(Greenwood).*

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The two unions' success is even more dramatic at state and local levels. In New York, the only state dominated by the AFT, 94 percent of those who won the union's endorsement won seats in the state legislature (here a significant number were Republicans). In addition, the AFT backed the winners in the races for the executive branch, especially Mario Cuomo, who was a leading presidential possibility at the time. In New York City, the UFT (the AFT local) virtually dominates community school board elections. Its 1986 candidates won majorities in twenty-five out of thirty-two school districts. These boards were part of an effort during the sixties to decentralize the powers of the New York City Board of Education and encourage community participation in the schools. Back then, the UFT opposed them; now that the union controls so many boards, it is resisting efforts to abolish them.

Though the teachers' unions have succeeded only once—with Jimmy Carter—in four tries at presidential politics, they have been influential power brokers in the primaries. In 1980, the NEA sent 464 delegates and 169 alternates for Carter to the Democratic convention, one-tenth of all the delegates and one in seven of those committed to Carter. In 1984, 270 NEA delegates went to the convention as Mondale delegates.

Given the large field in the 1988 primaries, teachers' unions, like the AFL-CIO generally, have refrained from backing any candidate. The NEA, however, has declared all of the Democrats "strong supporters of education," and has dismissed the Republicans.

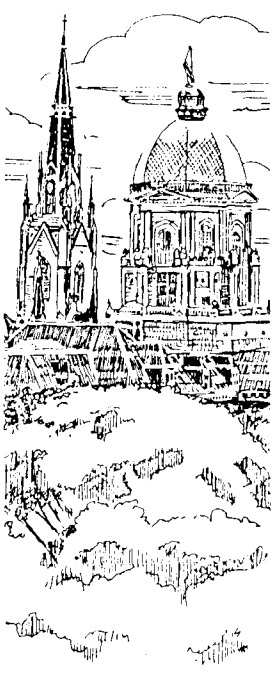
If things are going well in electoral politics for the unions, matters are quite different when it comes to the politics of education. From the "equity" reform wave of the 1960s when the civil rights movement set the agenda for education of the disadvantaged, to the "excellence" movement of the 1980s when competition from abroad, notably Japan, began stressing education for the best and brightest, teachers' unions have been followers rather than active initiators of school reform. Thus, an important question has arisen which the unions have yet to answer satisfactorily: With all of their political influence, why have the teachers' unions had such limited impact on education itself?

The easiest answer to the question is that bitter organizational rivalries in seeking new members have impaired the ability of the AFT and NEA to work together on other agendas. Former AFT president Selden believes this rivalry has seriously detracted from educational concerns. Equally important, the teachers' unions have critical ideological differences, which are often reflected in their educational priorities.

Nowhere has that ideological difference been more evident than in their differing reactions to the "excellence" movement. Both unions were initially defensive about this Reagan-backed initiative. While the NEA has maintained a cool hostility, the AFT eventually joined the "excellence" bandwagon.

The excellence movement was launched by the Department of Education's publication of *A Nation at Risk*. As a political response to the economic failings of American business in a

STUDY WITH A DISTINGUISHED FACULTY



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competitive world market, "excellence" is very much a product of the Reagan administration. Thus far, however, its major impact has not been to improve business, but to shift emphasis away from the equity agenda. Albert Shanker, the head of the AFT, feels comfortable with the "excellence" reform, and takes pride in the fact that his call for a national teacher examination, as part of that reform, has received a good deal of attention and editorial support.

The NEA, on the other hand, has retained its allegiance to the "old" equity agenda. Its current president, Mary Hatwood Futtrell, the first black to head a teacher's union, has attacked "excellence" advocates as "would-be reformers" who believe that "schools are devoting too many resources to educating disadvantaged learners and not enough to fostering excellence among talented students."

One of the many ironies of the NEA-AFT rift is that it was the NEA that made the creation of a cabinet-level department of education one of its key political demands, while the AFT was opposed. Jimmy Carter obliged the NEA by establishing the department in 1979.

The excellence/equity disagreement points to another difference between the two unions—the question of race. Again ironies abound. The NEA once maintained segregated locals. The AFT expelled such locals from the union and was in the forefront of the civil rights movement. Now the NEA supports affirmative action programs; the AFT opposes them. The two filed opposing *amicus curiae* briefs in the 1976 Bakke Supreme Court decision. Moreover, the NEA maintains a quota system guaranteeing minority representation among union officers, a practice that the AFT denounces.

But the two unions have acted in concert on some important educational policy issues, including competency tests for teachers, vouchers, and tuition-tax credits—issues that will directly affect their members and/or the viability of public schools. The unions now give competency tests at least limited support: have beginning teachers take them. But they remain opposed to such tests for experienced teachers. Shanker has also called for a national licensing examination system. The concern of NEA officials about the performance of minority teachers on such examinations is not fully shared by their counterparts at the AFT. Shanker sees no reason for concern about losing minority teachers. Instead, he calls for "intensive help" in the public schools to educate minorities.

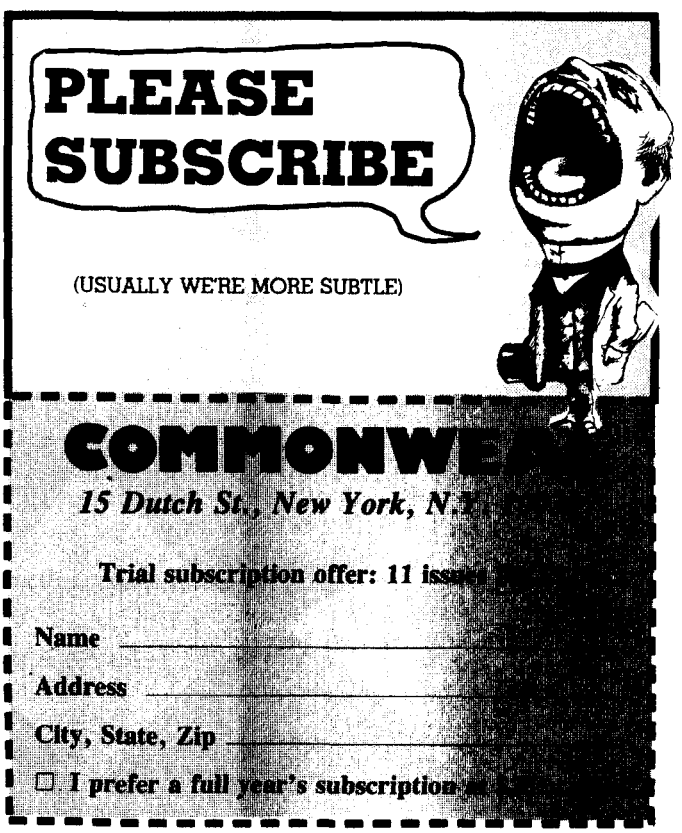
The teachers' unions find the greatest common ground in their opposition to vouchers and tuition tax credits that would aid private and parochial schools. The unions stopped a Reagan administration attempt to set up such a plan for students being served under Chapter I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Shanker argued that the Reagan plan would allow private schools to "discriminate along racial or religious lines" and would "pit one group of parents against another." Futtrell called it a "cruel hoax" that "signals further retreat" from efforts to educate the poor. The Reagan bill did not make it to the floor of Congress.

Finally, the unions have different positions on foreign policy which, though far removed from the immediate concerns of most teachers, are indicative of divergent union philosophies. The NEA has aligned itself with the international peace movement. In 1981, its representative assembly went on record against nuclear conflict; and the union published a teachers' manual, *Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War*. The AFT, which under Shanker has focused on anti-Communism, attacked the NEA's manual as "propaganda" and argued that the NEA should not bring such "political, moral, and economic issues" into the classroom.

In the face of these divisive views, it is hard to imagine the teachers' unions ever being united enough to devote more attention and energy to sorely needed reforms within schools and the educational establishment itself. But in the popular mind, clearly the "excellence" reform movement has upstaged the unions and underscored the need for stronger teacher initiative. After all, who knows better than teachers how badly our schools need such reforms?

What are the prospects for greater teacher unity, especially in the form of a merger?

When Selden was AFT president in the late sixties and early seventies, there was talk of merging the two unions. Negotiations collapsed for a variety of reasons. Selden subsequently lost the presidency to his protégé, Albert Shanker. Today, the chief obstacle to merger may well be Shanker himself. Shanker is an



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educational and racial conservative, a hard-line anti-Communist, and a loyal adherent to the AFL-CIO view of the world—views diametrically opposite those of the NEA. In any merged union, Shanker and the AFT might well dominate.

The AFT structure is attuned to strong leadership; the NEA's is not. Shanker has dominated AFT politics for over a decade and a half. He is an exceptionally bright, articulate, and politically astute labor leader. NEA presidents are classroom teachers elected for a maximum of two terms. (Mary Hatwood Futtrell was given an exceptional third term.) Shanker has been the most consistent labor figure in American education. He has made his presence felt mainly through his paid educational column in the *New York Times*, originally published, as paid advertising, to restore his image after the community control fight.

A merger plan could guard against some of these problems by including proportional representation. The NEA has a larger membership and this would ensure its control and liberal dominance of the merged union. A longer-range plan might have the NEA restructuring its governing councils to encourage the grooming of a long-term, educational leader.

For Selden, the originator of the idea, merger meant that the teachers' unions would become the cutting edge of educational and social reform. He hoped to have the "entire educational system . . . renovated and reconstructed" and emerge with "a united teacher organization. . .building a liberal labor political force similar to those which functioned in most European countries." But the two unions have never been farther from this vision than they are right now. And without merger, it is unlikely that the unions will ever become the national force needed for educational and social change within the schools. □

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THE LIFE & DEATH OF IT

NEW SPRING FILMS

Some recent movies live by understatement, but some die too. *Frantic*, for example, belies its title. It's a tired thriller from Roman Polanski, who has actually made many fine films (*Macbeth, Chinatown, Tess, Knife in the Water*). But *Frantic* is just dead in the water. At first Polanski tries to set a realistic tone—so steady and unmelodramatically monotonous is the early pace. Harrison Ford also manages some presence as a doctor whose wife (Betty Buckley) disappears while they visit Paris. Polanski tracks him doggedly trying to make sense of the mystery.

Predictably, all the usual suspects show up: drug dealers, Arab terrorists, CIA agents, and a very sexy, long-legged girl in punk regalia (Emmanuelle Seigner). Worse, Polanski provides no tightening of suspense, no wit, nary a soupçon of originality to redeem the banality. When the kidnapper finally contacts Ford and arranges ransom, he warns, "Don't do anything stupid, doctor, or your beautiful wife goes bye-bye," an early candidate for the worst line in 1988.

Witch-hunting cold warriors used to ask, who lost China? In *The House on Carroll Street*, the question is who lost the screenplay? The film, a political thriller about McCarthyism, has been cut down to ninety-five minutes, a quarter shorter than the standard feature. Worse, what's left is imbalanced. Director Peter Yates is involved with sex and chases at the expense of background and character.

Despite improbabilities, the film's premise is intriguing. Kelly McGillis plays a *Life* assistant photography editor hounded from her job for belonging to a group called Liberty Watch. Writer Walter Bernstein, who wrote the semi-comic *The Front* on the same themes, creates a Congressional committee HUAC-type inquisition of McGillis—the kind Bernstein knew too well from being blacklisted. Later, at a new job, reading books to a rich old woman (Jessica Tandy), McGillis comes across evidence of a plot to smuggle ex-Nazis into the United States. Heading the plot is Ray Salwen (Mandy Patinkin), McGillis's interrogator.

The screenplay may be far-fetched, but at least it blends imaginatively two sets of headlines. The casting lends credibility, especially when Patinkin (named to evoke Roy Cohn and made up as Robert de Niro), casts greasily menacing glances at McGillis. She also provides authenticity in her early fifties' clothing (the production design and costuming is su-

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perb). With her thick brows and husky physique (which, in interviews, she derides as "Junoesque"), McGillis is aptly cast as an American heroine before the Age of Aerobics.

But Yates doesn't draw much out of her—no background regarding why she joined Liberty Watch, or why she pursues the Nazis after losing so much. Early atmospherics that recall the sleaze of *All the President's Men* degenerate, especially when an FBI agent (Jeff Daniels) becomes McGillis's knight in shining armor. Just guess what happens one night when he has to shield her in his apartment after hers is firebombed!

From there on, it's cliché chasing cliché, all the way to the top of Grand Central Station. None of it, not even an improbable happy ending (in 1951!) would be so bad, if more flesh were left on the characters. I wish they had remained Junoesque.

A face worth watching belongs to Natasha Richardson, the young daughter of Tony Richardson and Vanessa Redgrave. She waltzes through *A Month in the Country* with her mother's graceful mass, peach-blossom cheeks, and a nose beaked like a delicate bird's. Despite her clichéd role as a parson's wife, she makes one regret this waste of her powerful loveliness.

A Month in the Country stretches understatement to its outer limits. Directed by Pat O'Connor (who made the fine *Cal* on the IRA), it concerns two Great War vets in Yorkshire during the twenties. One (Colin Firth) comes to clean an interior church wall, behind which lies a medieval mosaic. It is that kind of English chapel Larkin described in *Church Going*, with "its tense, musty, unignorable silence brewed god knows how long." The second vet (Kenneth Branagh) digs outside the church grounds for some archeological oddities. They share a love of art, an unearthing of psychic war wounds, and at last a kind of healing.

Firth also gets to exchange plenty of sighs with Richardson, whose husband (*de rigueur*) is a cold puritanical oaf who ignores her. Surprise! O'Connor must be under the impression that he is onto new ground in exploring English repression, sexual anxiety, inability to speak, and the war's heritage of quiet on so many fronts. His labor is a noble effort, but a snooze.

A similar problem is solved better in *Babette's Feast*, Danish Oscar nominee for Best Foreign Film. The plot of *Babette's Feast* is thin gruel; one wag at the preview carped that "somewhere in that, aching to come out, is a mighty small short story." In truth, the source is a tale by Isak Dinesen, whose severe understatement Director Gabriel Axel has retained, perhaps too successfully, for the

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movie. As with *The Dead*— another recent film featuring a sumptuous repast—*Babette's Feast* doesn't always work in its new medium. Still, despite problems, Axel transubstantiates this Lenten fare into a mouthwatering film, perfectly acted, sumptuous to behold.

Set on the rugged coast of Jutland, the film focuses on a small ascetic nineteenth-century Lutheran sect whose minister, when preaching, resembles a dour portrait of John Calvin. His medieval look is matched by the thatched huts of the rural village where he and his two pre-Raphaelite-looking daughters lead their small band of followers in a life of hymns, prayer, plain living, high thinking, and spare diet. Axel has filmed their world in such cool, blue tones (with light blue shawls, slate blue thatch) that it looks as if Vermeer had painted it.

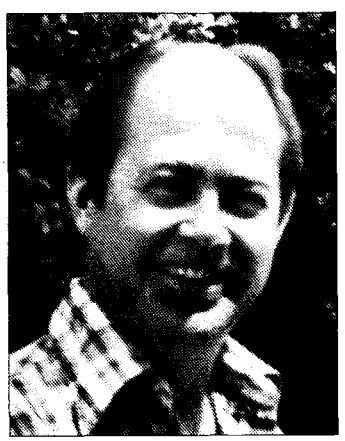
The film involves two time frames: the daughters' youth, when they are courted by handsome visitors (whom their father's influence quietly discourages) and their spinsterly age. When old (played by Bodir Kjer and Birgitte Federspiel, a veteran of Carl Dreyer's 1955 masterpiece, *Ordet*), they hire as a cook Babette, who is fleeing France after the Commune's suppression. It takes little time for her (Stephane Audran) to impress the flock which the daughters still shepherd; her hand is expert even with a plain fish broth. When, after years in exile, she wins a lottery, she can't contain herself, and arranges an epicurean, haute Parisian feast that challenges their traditional austerity.

Axel stages the dinner with a deft touch, allowing both for

comedy (the sect tries desperately not to show pleasure) and philosophy by an outsider (one of the sisters' ex-beaux) who rhapsodizes not just about the food, but its spiritual meaning. At times, the latter seems strained, as if Axel is trying to pull a rabbit out of, well, a roast quail.

In Book 7, Chapter 7 of *War and Peace*, Tolstoy places the happiest event of the novel, the Rostovs' winter feast in the country: "herb wine, pickled mushrooms, rye cakes made with buttermilk, honey in the comb, still mead and sparkling mead, apples, nuts (both raw and roasted), and nut-and-honey-sweets . . . a fresh and roasted chicken, ham, preserves made with honey, and preserves made with sugar."

The fare in *Babette's Feast* (be warned, don't go hungry) is different, elegantly French, imported. But Dinesen and Axel's core idea is the same. Tolstoy creates such an intense physical sensation for the meal that he embodies in it the essence of any happy meal we could ever have—the idea of festive dining, or the holy communion which our daily bread only shadows. Perhaps the highest praise for this film is that its suggestive power comes close to Tolstoy. Almost. TOM O'BRIEN



Jim McCloskey on prison reform:

I feel as if Christ appointed and led me to this work. The scriptural imperative — the mandate — is to seek justice for the afflicted, the brokenhearted and the oppressed, for the forsaken and the forgotten . . . souls who are in prison the rest of their lives for somebody else's crime.

Jim McCloskey, Class of 1983.
Founder and Director of Centurion Ministries.

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Beware the jabberwocky

THE ACADEMIC LIFE
Small Worlds, Different Worlds
Burton R. Clark
The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, $28.50 hardcover, $24.50, paper, 360 pp.

THE LAST INTELLECTUALS
American Culture in the Age of Academe
Russell Jacoby
Basic Books, $18.95, 290 pp.

Raymond A. Schroth

In the bitterest episode of *The Sportswriter*, Richard Ford's novel on the moral hollowness of American life, Frank Bascombe, a divorced, thirty-eight-year-old magazine journalist, accepts a temporary creative writing position in the English department of Berkshire College—a mythical New England liberal arts institution that anyone who has taught on a New England campus would recognize in a second.

His faculty colleagues, he records, "couldn't have been a better bunch." They circulated a copy of his early book of short stories among their homes and actually listened to him—"arms folded, pipes clenched tight, ties adjusted"—although they never listened to one another. But, in his judgment, they were perpetual children, "born deceivers of the lowest sort," who used their "arts of explaining" to escape the mysteries of life, to promote the illusion of permanence, of "time-freed, existential youth forever." Teachers, he says, should be required to stop teaching at thirty-two and not allowed to resume until they're sixty-five—"so they can *live* their lives, not teach them away."

It's too bad that Burton R. Clark, professor of education and sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles, did not interview Frank Bascombe in his research for *The Academic Life*, the Carnegie Foundation update on the "condition of the professorate today."

True, Clark and his three research associates and six assistants did draw on 1983-85 interviews with 170 faculty members plus more than 60 administrators and others, in six academic fields in sixteen institutions, plus 1984 survey data of 5,000 academics, to draw up his report.

But he has looked out upon the academic world and found it good, not so good as to portray a world that is not there, but good enough to miss some truths perceived by novelists like Richard Ford and David Lodge—in *Small World*, his hilarious satire of English department convention junkies— and by disaffected scholars like Russell Jacoby—in *The Last Intellectuals*—and by anyone with eyes and ears in the faculty coffee room.

Clark defines a profession as an occupation that regulates itself through training and discipline, has at its base a specialized knowledge, and enshrines service rather than profit in its code of ethics. He then traces three phases in the gradual professionalization of college teaching: the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when "amateurs" imparted a fixed body of common knowledge and values; after the 1870s, when separate disciplines and departments triumphed over the generalists; and 1960 to the present, a quantum leap in differentiation, when new specialities have multiplied and spun off in all directions. What C. P. Snow once described as the "two cultures" of science and the humanities seems to have become, in Clark's view, a benign Babel, where every academic lingo has its own academic department, association, and journal.

Meanwhile, this accelerating fragmentation plays to and reinforces the hierarchical structure framing the careers and values of 700,000-850,000 academics in 3,000 colleges and universities—from the elite research universities down to the community colleges.

As a physics professor at a "leading university" put it, the ultimate joy is "to match wits with people whose wits are worth matching." He and his colleagues also teach two courses a year at most, have graduate students grade their papers and help their research, earn their keep in grants, publish books, have their own computer terminals and unfettered access to the copying machine, fly to Tokyo, Paris, and Katmandu, make at least $60,000 a year—and never see a freshman face-to-face.

Their "professional colleagues" in the community college downtown meanwhile, teach eight to ten remedial courses a year to students who aren't sure why they're there, do no research and just a little scholarship (keeping up), and draw their emotional reward from those few souls who seem to have inched ahead by the end of the semester.

The strength of this system, with its emphasis on research and publication, says Clark, is that it frees professors to "pursue truth" with minimum flack and generates the new ideas that propel the profession into the future. "Further," writes Clark, "when a system of higher education only teaches, it risks becoming profoundly obsolete." The "Achilles' heel" of this otherwise well-functioning system, Clark confesses, is its inability to reward undergraduate teaching—particularly when the undergraduate colleges are the soul and life's blood of the complex, overarching graduate institutions.

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But *Academic Life* does not reflect how much the broken back of this system—its overspecialization—has crippled real liberal education: we have faculty so narrowly trained—poorly educated—that they can no longer comprehend, much less pass on, a common culture to the young. The effects of this are particularly devastating to those traditionally religious colleges who market themselves as repositories of a specific Christian value system but hire "hot" young faculty members who have one eye on their professional associations and the other on their next job up the ladder.

The Last Intellectuals had a brief life in the fall semester, touted as the left's version of Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*. Yet much of its validity stems from Clark's findings on fragmentation and specialization within the disciplines. Four out of five of the professors surveyed said they considered themselves "intellectuals"; yet, in interviews, that word was not part of their rhetoric, and their common value system blossomed with generalities like "curiosity," "knowledge itself," "honesty," and "academic freedom"—a catch-all term which has come to embody everything from the right to teach creationism (or prevent the teaching of it) to the right to give a short-answer quiz rather than an essay exam.

It is Jacoby's complaint that over the past fifty years those elements in the culture that nourished the true urban intellectual life, i.e., broadly educated men and women writing for public impact, have been washed away. The Highway Act of 1956 turned thriving downtowns into centerless sprawls; gentrification squeezed marginal poets and essayists out of Greenwich Village; the commercialized "sixties generation" drained Bohemia of its authentic spirit; we picked up the phone to "touch someone" instead of writing a long and lovely letter; we read a paper at a conference rather than share ideas over wine in a sidewalk cafe.

The world that gave us Lewis Mumford (1895-), Dwight Macdonald (1906-82), and Edmund Wilson (1895-1972)—"superb essayists, graceful writers. . . iconoclasts, critics, polemicists, who deferred to no one"—has been pushed aside by young radicals who got their degrees in the 1960s, joined the faculty clubs they once trashed, who write jargon for specialized journals rather than intellectual journalism, and squeeze out brilliant generalists like Pulitzer Prize-winning sociologist Paul Starr, author of *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, whom Harvard banished in 1985—as punishment for being popular—to Princeton.

Jacoby's thesis makes a thin book but inspires new versions of old conversations: Where are the post-sixties Catholic intellectuals? Are Garry Wills and Peter Steinfels too old for Jacoby's list? If we're short on intellectual journalists, why is it so hard to keep up with the good articles waiting to be read?

What else is missing from the small worlds of Clark and Jacoby? The ominous fact that 40 percent of American scientists, many at the top of the academic pyramid, are engaged in Pentagon-related research. A glimpse of the pompous professorial zanies who can turn faculty meetings into a scene from Duck Soup. A deeper analysis of those 22 percent who told the Carnegie survey they "feel trapped in a profession with limited opportunities for advancement" and the effects of their low self-esteem on their students. Some response to the pathetic "gut" phenomenon: easy courses students love to take—like the one taught by a Greek and medieval philosophy professor at Brown: a popular no-attendance-required, 12-page-paper-at-the-end course with 200 students. The professor reported whimsically in The *New York Times* (December 16, 1987) that half the class tried to drop the course when a substitute teacher gave homework.

Somewhere between the wits-matching physicist flying to Katmandu and the pandering prof with 200 smiling, unchallenged disciples, there is a way of academic and intellectual life that allows its teachers to both teach well and write those books and articles that affect public discussion. Maybe Richard Ford will take a writing position at a really good university and tell us about it in a few years. □

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INTERNS OF SOCIAL IRRESPONSIBILITY

THE NAZI DOCTORS
Medical Killing and
The Psychology of
Genocide
Robert Jay Lifton
Basic Books, $19.95, 561 pp.

Thomas T. Lewis

How was it possible that large numbers of physicians—after taking the Hippocratic oath—became key participants in the murderous projects of the Third Reich? In trying to answer this disturbing question, Dr. Robert Lifton, currently Distinguished Professor of Psychiatry at the City University of New York, devoted about ten years to historical research, interviewing twenty-nine former Nazi doctors, twelve former Nazi non-medical professionals, and eighty survivors of Auschwitz, half of them doctors. Although much of the book is devoted to unpleasant subject matter, it is a brilliant study which helps one to understand the dynamics of institutional evil and the pressures for conformity.

In justifying the practice of medical killing the Nazis used the concept of "life unworthy of life" (*lebensunwertes Leben*). The application of this principle occurred in five sequential stages: first, beginning in the summer of 1933, the coercive sterilization of those considered to have genetic deficiencies (a practice then more common in the United States); secondly, beginning early in 1939, the killing of "impaired" children in hospitals; thirdly, in October of that year, the extension of euthanasia to include "impaired" adults in mental hospitals; fourthly, the further extension of the program to include "impaired" inmates of concentration camps; and finally in the summer of 1941, the project of mass killings, mostly of Jews, in the extermination camps.

Physicians were actively involved in the planning and application of the euthanasia campaign between 1939 and 1941, and the same was true of the larger program of genocide from 1941 to 1945. It is estimated that about 350 physicians were guilty of medical crimes, but countless others supported the regime and its medical philosophy. In fact, about 45 percent of the doctors of Germany joined the Nazi party, more than any other group of professionals. The doctors, it appears, were especially attracted to the Nazi conception of a biomedical science.

In addition to German doctors, there were many prisoner doctors who actively cooperated with the medical practices of the extermination camps. Although only

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a few participated in the medical experimentations, all doctors had to participate in the process of selecting those who would go to the gas chambers. One prisoner doctor explained the moral dilemma of the situation: "One could save lives only by contributing to Auschwitz selection policies; one could avoid that involvement only by refusing to exercise one's capacity to save lives."

A non-orthodox psychoanalyst, Dr. Lifton never makes use of the kind of Freudian reductionism which one often encounters in some works of so-called psycho-history. Never does he suggest that the behavior of the Nazi doctors might be explained by reference to primal scene trauma or to an unresolved oedipus complex. Rather than the Freudian notion of an irrational superego, Lifton is a moralist who views the development of a sensitive conscience as an important component of a healthy personality. He writes: "Psychological research is always a moral enterprise, just as moral judgments inevitably include psychological assumptions."

Lifton finds that the majority of Nazi physicians were not sadistic monsters; they were "ordinary people" who were neither stupid nor exceptionally intelligent. How was it possible for ordinary people to be responsible for such "demonic acts"? Part of the answer, according to Lifton, was related to the wrong-headed idealism associated with the ideology of National Socialism, for it was this ideology which justified the killing of humans in the attempt to "heal" the German people from a racial disease. This was the belief of not only politicians such as Hitler and Himmler, but as one Nazi physician (Dr. Fritz Klein) explained: "Of course I am a doctor and I want to preserve life. And out of respect for human life, I would remove a gangrenous appendix from a diseased body. The Jew is the gangrenous appendix in the body of mankind." This crude form of racial Darwinism might be objectively absurd, but early in the century such racism was a common belief among educated men of science.

In addition to their belief systems, the Nazi physicians were able to adapt to circumstances with the use of several psychological strategies. Following their scientific training, they looked upon their work from a problem-solving perspective, taking pride in their professional competence. They learned to accept the unacceptable through a process of "psychic numbing," and one doctor compared his adjustment to the experience of learning how to slaughter animals for market. They also radically compartmentalized their work into contradictory roles, so that they could heal the sick and then make selections for the gas chambers. Lifton emphasizes that multiple selves can exist within a single person, and he uses the term "doubling" to refer to the phenomenon. Even with ideological commitment, numbing, and doubling, however, the physicians often turned to alcohol in order to exist from one day to the next.

Lifton includes long chapters devoted to three doctors at Auschwitz: Joseph Mengele, Edward Wirths, and a "Dr. Ernst B." Lifton looks upon these three doctors as representative of three dominant types. In the case of Mengele, there was not much need for doubling, for here was indeed a man who was authoritarian, cruel, enthusiastic about his medical experiments, and completely devoted to the Nazi ideology. Wirths, in contrast, was a person who strongly reflected the phenomenon of doubling: a medical self which was devoted to healing the sick and a Nazi self which was committed to the genocide of the final solution. Dr. Ernst B., interviewed by Lifton on five different occasions, had never been associated with the selections for the gas chambers, and Lifton describes him as "a human being in an SS uniform." Even if Dr. B. had never actively participated in medical crimes, he did continue to have anti-Semitic convictions and to state there was "something right," something that "was good with the Nazis."

Although Dr. Lifton is a Jew with anti-Nazi convictions, he does manage to empathize somewhat with the doctors analyzed in his book. Some writers, including Bruno Bettelheim, have argued that Lifton goes too far in the direction of understanding, fearing that *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*. Noth-

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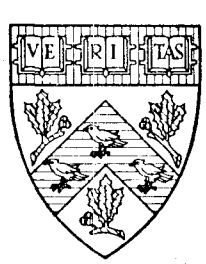

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ing in Lifton's book, however, would suggest that medical atrocities should be excused. More importantly, if people are going to oppose the emergence of tyrannical systems, it is necessary that they understand why and how ordinary people can be motivated to cooperate with such systems. Dr. Lifton has made an important contribution toward uncovering the "psychological conditions conducive to evil." □

ORDAINED TO LABOR

PRIESTS IN WORKING-CLASS BLUE
The History of the Worker-Priests (1943-1954)
Oscar L. Arnal
Paulist, $11.95, 239 pp.

Joan Lenardon

Oscar Arnal has written a book which anyone who has had even the slightest affection for the worker-priests of France would like to have produced. Going beyond merely chronicling a calendar of events, he has recreated and portrayed the "very stuff of their life and priesthood, what the French would call their *vie intégrale*."

Chapters 1 through 4 outline the historical background of the French working class, and several largely ineffective nineteenth- and early twentieth-century missionary apostolates of the Catholic church in France to these industrial masses. The next three chapters focus upon the period from July 7, 1943, when the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, Emmanuel Suhard, and Abbé Henri Godin, launched the Mission of Paris, until March 1, 1954, when the worker-priests had to submit to the conditions placed upon their ministry by their individual bishops.

In chapter 9, Arnal surveys the published contemporary reactions to the worker-priests in the French secular press and in the journalistic organs of the clergy and Lay Catholic Action organizations. Additionally, though briefly, he chronicles the phoenix-like character of the movement from March 1, 1954, through July 7, 1959—the date which looked like the irreversible termination of Cardinal Suhard's heroic missionary experiment—to its ultimate validation in the *Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests* of the Second Council of the Vatican.

The book's strength lies in chapters 5 through 9, for here Dr. Arnal begins to fill in the dearth of original source material from the worker-priests themselves. Having accumulated a vast amount of documentation from the personal testimony of nearly one-half of the original one hundred worker-priests, from the private papers of several others, from personal interviews with most of the leading theologians who supported the worker-priests, along with rich material drawn from the papers of the Mission of Paris itself, the author gives us the oppor-

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tunity to see this experiment from the inside, through the eyes of those real people whose names, ages, socio-economic origins, educational backgrounds, wartime experiences, and ecclesial roots in Catholic Action and working-class parishes, are revealed for the first time, certainly, to an English-speaking public.

Through intimate and disarming details, the priests themselves tell their stories of how in fact they became "priests in working-class blue" by taking off the traditional *soutane* of the French priest and putting on the traditional blue trousers and jacket of the French workingman.

Once inside the factories as workers, these priests quite naturally carried on their mission to re-Christianize the working class by deciding to join a union; choosing the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) even though they learned that it was directed by the French Communist party; staying with the CGT nevertheless because it was the largest as well as the most dynamic of all the labor unions; accepting union office when pressed to do so by their once skeptical co-workers; going on strike with their union comrades; participating in the Communist-instigated political demonstrations of the early 1950s; and cooperating with their comrades, Communist or otherwise, to confront day-to-day issues.

Deftly sifting his rich primary sources, the author coaxes the human lineaments from such faceless terms as proletariat; bourgeoisie; class consciousness; revolutionary struggle; reformism; de-Christianization; and alienation.

A few reservations are in order. Greater attention to the history of the French labor movement could have uncovered the deep roots of pervasive distrust which the French working class cultivated for both the French state and the church. After all, it was not only the church but the whole French nation, acting through its successive political régimes, which dealt callously with the French working class. Tracing the long and painful struggle of the industrial work force to achieve the legal right to form unions, achieved only in 1884 (and incidentally with the help of two paternalistic Catholics, La Tour du Pin and Albert de Mun), would have assisted the North American reader to comprehend why, for example, the French working class felt not merely solidarity among themselves, but also a keen if not fervid consciousness of being a class set apart, a proletariat. Hence the appeal of the Communist-dominated CGT.

Arnal does demonstrate how strongly the utopian promises of Marxist ideology still reverberated throughout the French working class in the immediate postwar years. The worker-priests sounded the alarm that not only was the church sociologically absent from the working class of the "eldest daughter of the church," but that in her place, Marxist messianism was received as the Good News.

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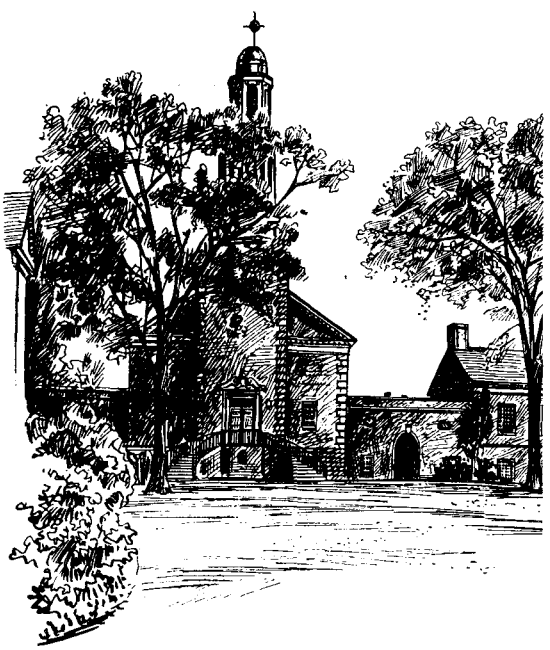

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method of evangelization, Arnal asserts, set them on a "collision course with the hierarchical church." Unfortunately, only two pages are given to their "worship and devotional patterns." The author does mention that they had difficulty in combining their proletarian lives with their "traditional priesthood" and their "classical style of spirituality." But he never provides a palpable grasp of that "clerical mentality" which played so significant a role in the alienation of the working class from the church during the nineteenth century. The point is that the acknowledgment and discarding of this clerical mentality by the worker-priests constitutes one of their most prophetic if not apocalyptic acts. Does one not feel the Second Vatican Council stirring in the words of one of these priests?

> We must enter the working-class movement to evangelize the worker . . . In every case we must enter into the hopes, efforts, quests (*recherche*), creations, enthusiasms of the modern world to there discover the action of God and reveal it to people. We do not have to put God into this world. He is there. But we must perceive His presence and aid our sisters and brothers to recognize Him. Further we must enter into the struggles and temptations of this world. We must, like Christ, carry its sins. We are in solidarity with this world. □

Anne Porter

In Holy Week

While we're asleep
The paschal moon is shining
High above the trees

And high above the trees
Even while we're sleeping
Easter is growing
In the paschal moon
Like a child in its mother

WHEN THE LAITY CAST THEIR VOTE

PEOPLE, PRIESTS, AND PRELATES
Ecclesiastical Democracy and The Tensions of Trusteeism
Patrick W. Carey
University of Notre Dame, $26.95, 392 pp.

Arlene Swidler

The agenda sounds contemporary: democracy in the church, separation of the spiritual and temporal with lay control over the latter, a lay voice in the appointment of pastors, due process for the clergy, and some sort of constitution that would spell out all of these. Yet the setting for Carey's study is 1785-1860.

As early Catholics came to this country and moved westward they formed congregations, built churches and incorporated legally to protect their property, organized prayer services and educated their children in the faith, and hoped to find a priest to minister to them. Not surprisingly, the trustee boards which held title to the church property often considered the priests their employees and expected to hire (or at least approve) and fire their own pastors. The occasional power struggles between these lay trustees and the episcopacy eventually resulted in a united front of bishops at their First Provincial Council in 1829, where they ruled that all property be vested in the bishop whenever legally possible. In some other countries, including Canada, a form of the trustee system continues even today.

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The trustee system in our country persisted so long and was so widespread —Carey points out that probably most early parishes used it simply because state law demanded it—that it is surprising how little we hear about it. What has been available to the average reader has for the most part disparaged the "evils of trusteeism" and "lay interference." In Philadelphia, one of the hotter spots in the history of trusteeism, clergy are still known to fret over the possibilities of another "Hogan schism." Carey, an associate professor of theology at Marquette University, is in fact not only the first scholar to produce a full study of the system but also one of the few—here as well as in earlier essays—to attempt an objective study and present the several points of view.

Though not a history but an analysis, the book does present the story of the first trustee battle in 1786 at St. Peter's, the sole Catholic church in New York City. Parishioners were dissatisfied with their pastor, Charles Whelan, because of his bad preaching, his demands for money (John Carroll had to warn him not to collect money for hearing confessions), and his closeness to his first benefactor, a Portuguese merchant. Enter another Irish Capuchin, Andrew Nugent. The trustees voted to stop Whelan's salary and asked John Carroll, later to be our first bishop but at that time the superior of the American Mission, to remove Whelan. Whelan eventually left of his own volition, but Nugent turned out not to be such a bargain: he asked that his salary be raised from three to four hundred dollars a year, and it was discovered he had been suspended in Dublin for "incontinence." Carroll revoked Nugent's faculties, but his followers seized the church, and the lay trustees, with Carroll's approval, turned to the civil court, which removed Nugent.

In many ways the case was typical. Bad sermons, financial differences, and ethnic tensions were common and interrelated. The trustees wanted talented preachers who could draw large congregations, including non-Catholics, to help support the churches. Though bishops were less concerned about oratorical talents, the laity resented priests

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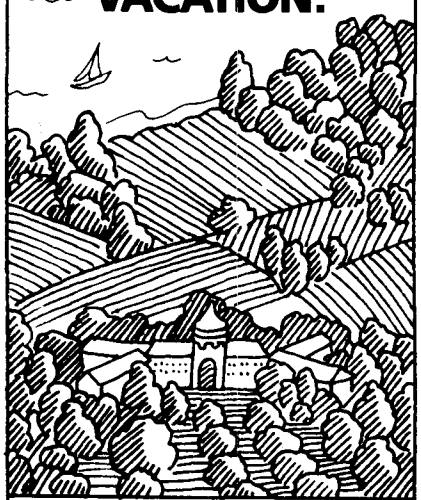

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who embarrassed them either by their ignorance or by their poor English: the French priests and bishops were especially resented by their English-speaking congregations.

The trustees and their backers advanced a variety of arguments in favor of the system. Many, especially from German backgrounds, simply wanted to transplant the traditional and familiar patronage system to the New World. Others, enthusiastically American, saw trustees as an accommodation to what they perceived as a better order, even arguing in good Enlightenment fashion that the European hierarchical model of church was rooted in history but the American republican model was based on nature. The passage from the Acts of the Apostles (1:15-16) in which the entire Christian community elects a bishop was often appealed to, as were canon law and the Council of Trent.

Like the American republic itself, the system only gradually lost its elitism. The trustees, especially in the beginning, were drawn from the few educated and well-to-do members and elected only by the pew-holders, themselves an economic elite. Protestants who paid their wives' pew rents were eligible to vote.

Women apparently did not serve on trustee boards; in at least some states civil law excluded them from trustee elections. Ironically, in Europe women occasionally functioned as patrons, the aristocratic equivalent to the trustee board. Abbesses, for example, might function as patrons of parishes and nominate and install or dismiss priests as part of their temporal jurisdiction. What was permitted women by church law, in other words, was forbidden here by civil law.

Sometimes, of course, the system malfunctioned. Both trustees and anti-trustees resorted to violence, locking church doors, breaking their way in, smashing pews. There were horror stories on the clerical side as well. Priests themselves complained about the drunken itinerant clergy: there were accusations of clergy making off with congregational property; sometimes bishops replaced duly elected trustees with their own men, even when the act clearly broke the civil law. And all sides—parishioners, trustees, priests, and prelates—could at times be despotic.

Still, the trustees were elected each year, and many had long tenures, so although there was often a vocal anti-trustee faction, the trustees certainly rep-

REVIEWERS

RAYMOND A. SCHROTH, S.J., *associate professor of communications at Loyola University in New Orleans, is author of* Books for Believers: 35 Books Every Catholic Should Read *(Paulist Press).*

THOMAS T. LEWIS *is professor of history and political science at Mt. Senario College in Ladysmith, Wisconsin. He writes frequently on the Third Reich and psychohistory.*

JOAN LENARDON *wrote her M.A. thesis on the worker-priests for Hunter College. She has been lecturing on church history at St. Peter's Seminary in London, Canada, since 1972.*

ARLENE SWIDLER *teaches religious studies at Villanova University.*

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resented a significant portion of the parish. As less-educated immigrants swelled the congregation, the trustees came to be more representative of the general populace.

Church leaders in the beginning were supportive. Carroll, who himself insisted on election by his fellow priests before becoming our first bishop, found the trustee system workable despite the headaches. He often approved clergy brought over to this country by the laity, and consulted parishioners before appointing a priest. In his own cathedral there were no problems.

The Vatican does not emerge as a villain in this book. Almost always its involvement was simply a response to appeals from one side or the other, with all sides recognizing the pope's spiritual jurisdiction. By the 1820s, though, the American bishops had been able to bring Rome over to their side. Still, when the American bishops decreed in 1829 that the laity had absolutely no right of patronage, the Vatican suggested the wording be changed to admit the possibility of lay patronage sometime in the future.

So what are we to make of all the facts and examples Carey has presented in this volume? An epilogue points out that the basic questions of ecclesiology and roles remain unanswered. What happened in this country was primarily a lay-clergy struggle with the bishops grabbing the spoils, power. There are certainly enough historical precedents and theological arguments to warrant a return to some sort of role-sharing. Systems of checks and balances can be perfected; even when the laity had a voice in the choice of pastors, they were, after all, limited to men ordained by the bishops. Clerical accountability downwards as well as upwards would be healthy. Perhaps some day the preaching might finally improve.

Whether the laity is willing to take on the burden of fiscal responsibility is debatable. My hunch is that there was a time, right after the Council, when we would have been eager, but that our enthusiasm has waned. On the other hand, the growth of the permanent diaconate suggests a pool of what we used to call "generous souls." □

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 194)

a determination of death can be made that permits donation?

Where children dying for want of a brain are concerned, other tests of death must and can be found. The absence of spontaneous respiration, reflexes, and eye movement are reasonable substitutes where no other indices of brain activity are available.

It is true that the only reason to pursue new standards of death in anencephalic babies is to allow them to be used as organ or tissue donors for other infants in need. It is also true that the public demands certainty where matters of life and death are concerned. Neither consideration is a sufficient reason to call for a moratorium on organ procurement from anencephalic infants. The former is a reason which calls for moral commendation rather than opprobrium. The latter is only a reason for clarity about what is being done and why.

ARTHUR L. CAPLAN
Center for Biomedical Ethics

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Catholic Worker

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Language of Community

ROSEMARY HAUGHTON, SHAMAI KANTER, MAX STACKHOUSE ON THE LANGUAGE OF COMMUNITY at the University of Guelph in Ontario, June 20-23, 1988: The Fifth Annual Consultation of the Association for Religion and Intellectual Life. For information, write ARIL, College of New Rochelle, New York 10801; tel. 914-632-8852.

Benefactors Sought

BENEFACTORS sought, donations begged for struggling Mississippi mission. Dominicans labor here with local Catholic community to bring the Gospel to people with the scars of racial, social, religious division. Our financial resources: very limited; our work: preaching, evangelizing, parish, prison, community building. Write: Delta Dominican Ministries, Box 307, Rosedale, MS. 38769, ATT: Rev. Arthur Kurwin, O.P.

Priesthood

DESIRE PRIESTHOOD? Committed? Call 1-800-633-2252. Father Nigro, Gonzaga University, Spokane 99258.

Publication

Lost Tribe of Israel? Kinky new cult? No, just THE ORDINARY WAY, viewsletter of, by, for Christian laity seeking to connect work, life, faith. $8 year. PO Box 19339, Oakland, CA 94619.

Aging Religious: Our Responsibility

June 19-24, 1988. The Eleventh Annual Workshop for those working in retirement homes or programs for the aging in our religious communities. Also, optional Pre-Conference Seminar (June 16-18) for those new to this ministry. For brochure contact: Institute of Gerontology, College Misericordia, Dallas, PA 18612. Or call: (717) 675-3862. Registrations being accepted now.

Biblical Institute

23rd Biblical Institute, Trinity College, Burlington, VT 05401, June 19-24. Faculty: Gerald O'Collins, Alice Laffey, William Holladay, Howard Clark Kee. Write: Sr. Miriam Ward.

Theology Workshop

24th Theology Workshop, St. Mary's College, Box AB, Moraga, CA 94575, June 20-24, Bernard Cooke: Liturgy in a Post-Vatican II Church. Write: Timothy McCarthy, Director.

20th Annual Institute on Sacred Scripture

August 7-12, 1988. Distinguished faculty: Diane Bergant, OSA; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, OP; Daniel Harrington, SJ; Donald Senior, CP. For a brochure contact: Institute on Sacred Scripture, College Misericordia, Dallas, PA 18612. Or call (717) 675-3862. Registrations being accepted now.

Kirkridge Meeting

The Company at Kirkridge, a supportive network of contemporary Christians, will meet May 6, 7, 8, 1988. Jerry Jud will speak on *Dissolving the Dichotomies: God/Goddess, Body/Spirit, One Path/Many Ways* at the Shalom Mountain Retreat Center, Livingston Manor, New York. Join us to worship, support and stimulate, inward-outward journeys, cutting across all boundaries. For more information write Anthony Ciccariello, 520 W. Gray St., Elmira, N.Y. 14905.

Newman Journal

WORKS OF MERTON: Unpublished works of Thomas Merton appearing in the spring issue of *The Newman Journal*. For your copy send $3.50 check or money order to Catholic Campus Ministry c/o 110 Earl Hall, New York, New York 10027.

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Msgr. Andrew Cusack, Ph.D., Director of Summer Institute, Seton Hall School of Theology, S. Orange, NJ 07079

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